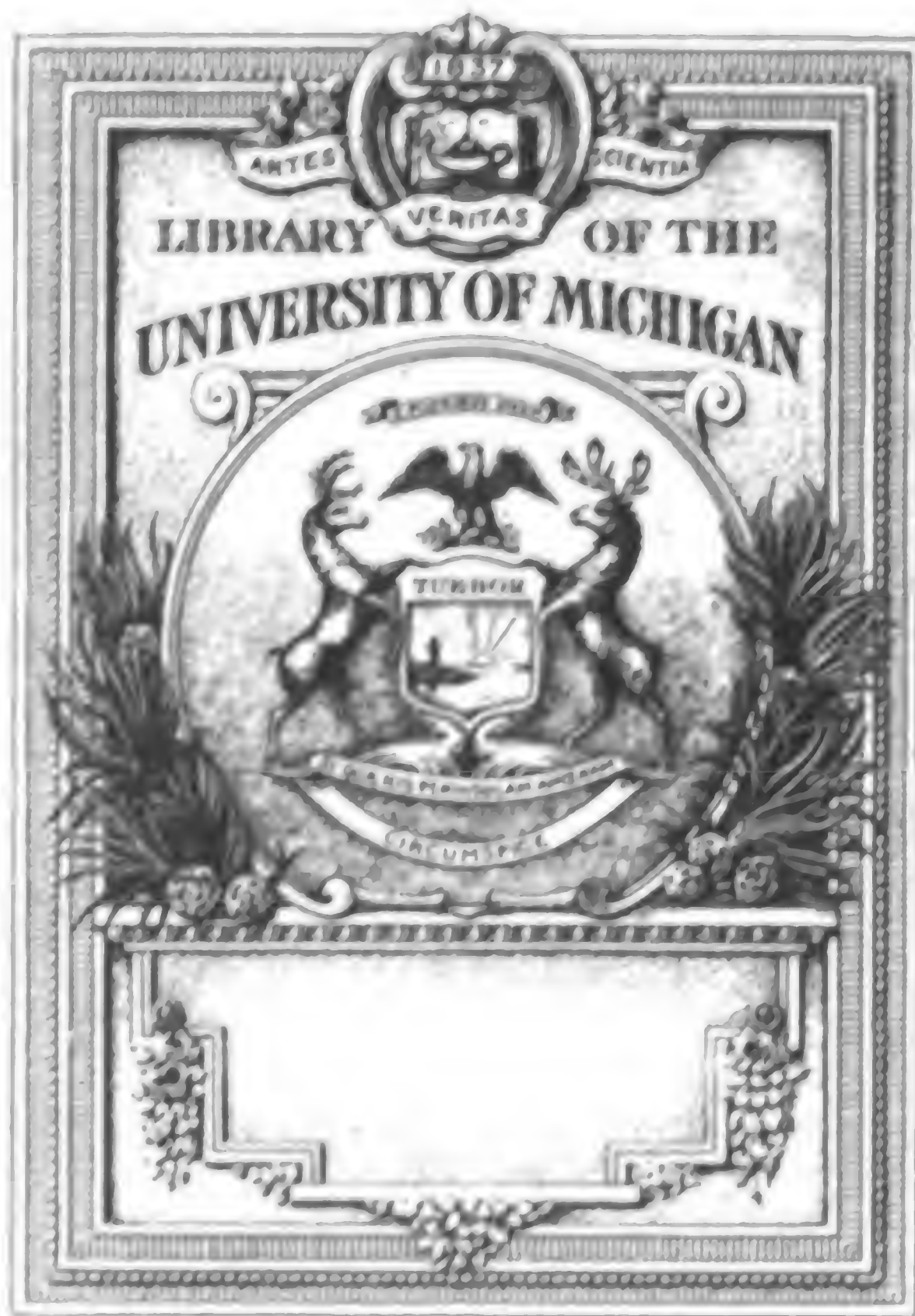


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TRANSACTIONS  
AND  
PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY  
CLARENCE P. BILL  
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION



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TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
1923

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I.—*Annalistic Method as Related to the Book Divisions in  
Tacitus*

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WHEN Tacitus blocked out the plan for his *ab Excessu Divi Augusti*, it is probable that he simply followed the method already employed in the *Histories*. The common impression that the latter are not as truly annals as the books which are so called for short is simply due to the fact that we know only the narrative of the years 69 and 70, and do not pause to ask what must have been the treatment of the remaining twenty-six years, down to the death of Domitian. If we assume for the moment that there were originally fourteen books of the *Histories*, we have five books for the two most eventful years with which the story begins, and nine for the remaining twenty-six, or an average of a little less than three years each for the lost books VI–XIV. If we compare this with the *Annals*, as represented by the eight complete books, I–IV and XII–XV, we find the average of these to be 3.8 years. Thus the pace taken by the historian differed but little in the two works, and if we prefer to suppose that the *Histories* had but twelve books, then the average for Books VI–XII would be 3.7 years, or almost precisely our figure for that part of the *Annals* in which accuracy is obtainable.<sup>1</sup> Certainly we have every

<sup>1</sup> As regards actual length of the *liber*, Tacitus in the completely extant books of the *Histories* allowed himself somewhat more space than in *Annals*, I–IV. The length of the *liber* in *Annals*, XII–XV is again appreciably reduced, as com-



reason to believe that the years were marked with the same distinctness as in the later work, and that the division into books showed throughout the same mastery of disposition and of dramatic effect, the same emancipation from the ways of the mere annalist that we observe in the extant books both of the *Histories* and of the *Annals*.

A hasty glance at the opening words of each of the first six books of the *Annals* would lead one to assume that the aging historian had grown more conservative, and lapsed into the ancient method of beginning a book with a year. Thus II, IV, V begin with the names of consuls. An equally hasty muster of the later books produces the impression that he has again changed his mind; for of Books XI–XVI only the XIVth begins with a calendar year. But the trail of the annalist must be followed more patiently through the whole work before we are in a position to draw any reliable conclusions.

The yearly division is to be found not merely in the traditional — — *consulibus*, or in the ingenious variations on that well-worn phrase, but in the paragraphs which neatly file away an event *eodem anno*, or *isdem consulibus*, or pigeon-hole an obituary notice as *fine anni*, *eo anno*, etc. It is in these expressions, certain to catch the eye, that the annalistic plan is no less evident than in the methodical entry of the date.

Altogether I find these lesser year-marks no less than fifty-five times in forty-three years (omitting 29, 37, and 66 A.D.), the most frequent being *eodem anno*, which occurs twenty times. A complete tabulation of these expressions and certain others which contribute to the annalistic impression shows that they are especially frequent in certain books, as II, VI, XIII, and XIV. Most of these formulas forewarn the reader that the next consular year is soon to be expected. Naturally there are many other less stereotyped intimations

pared with the earlier books. Thus these three groups of four books each stand to each other as 6 : 5 : 4, as results from the complete count of lines in Halm's text in Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 329. My own rougher estimate based on pages of Fisher's text gave about 14 : 11 : 9 respectively.



to the same effect, including mention in any form of eminent men who have died that year, since it is Tacitus' habit to enter his necrology near the end of the year. Of the forty-three years only six lack an *eodem anno* or equivalent.<sup>2</sup>

As for the more important forms used in marking the beginning of a new year, three-fourths of the cases show the time-honored formula, — — — *consulibus*, or — — — *et* — — — *consulibus*, while in one-fourth of the instances variations adapted to the particular context are preferred. Even where the old formula appears there is a studied variety, according as praenomina are given or not, or nomina with cognomina, or nomina alone. Further variety is produced by treating one

<sup>2</sup> These are:

18 A.D. (II, 53–58), an uneventful year, for which six chapters were sufficient, as everything relates to Germanicus or Piso and the East, and no occurrences in the West are recorded.

27 A.D. (IV, 62–67), again six chapters for a year which brings the retirement of Tiberius to Capri, and nothing else beyond a few journalistic items such as the fall of the amphitheatre of Fidenae, a fire on the Caelian, a delation or two.

34 A.D. (VI, 28–30), three chapters only, one of which is given to the reappearance of the phoenix in Egypt, while the other two glean from the field of tyranny escaped by suicide and delators themselves punished, adding one item of fresh interest, the deal between Lentulus Gaetulicus in Upper Germany and Tiberius.

48 A.D. (XI, 23–XII, 4), twenty chapters, dealing with the Gauls and the *ius honorum*, the oration of Claudius, the census; finally, in seventeen chapters forming a unit, the story of the fall of Messalina.

50 A.D. (XII, 25–40), six chapters, beginning with the adoption of Domitius, and passing on to the affairs of Germany, after which follow several consecutive campaigns in Britain under Ostorius Scapula and his successor, Didius Gallus. This departure from the tradition of the annalists requires ten chapters, and is explained in chapter 40.

52 A.D. (XII, 52–57), six chapters—the exile of Scribonianus and lesser matters; rewards to Pallas, misrule of his brother Felix in Judaea; disturbances in Cilicia; the opening of the *emissarium* of the Lacus Fucinus by Claudius.

The year 59 is not to be reckoned an exception, for at the end of the year we find *Sequuntur virorum illustrium mortes* (XIV, 19), to be classed with other forms introducing necrologies, commonly booked in the closing year. Of the six years mentioned above four (18, 27, 34, 52) are uneventful years quickly disposed of. And the remaining two give no occasion for the use of *eodem anno* or other formula.

name in one way and the other in another, or occasionally by inserting *et*. This occurs but four times with *consulibus*, and with this informal style praenomina are of course omitted, while in one case where the consuls happened to have the same cognomen, we have this striking variation: "Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat" (v, 1). More interesting are those dates in which convention is completely discarded:

18 A.D. (II, 53), Sequens annus Tiberium tertium, Germanicum iterum consules habuit.

20 A.D. (III, 31), Sequitur Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, patris atque filii collegio insignis.

22 A.D. (III, 52), C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur.

After this unusual variety—three instances in one book, and successive years—Tacitus falls back for several years into the old groove of ——— *consulibus*. But once more three efforts at variety within the limits of a single book:

32 A.D. (VI, 1), Cn. Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum inierant, cum Caesar, etc.

36 A.D. (VI, 40), Quintus Plautius Sex. Papinius consules sequuntur.

37 (VI, 45 med.), Neque enim multo post supremi Tiberio consules, Cn. Acerronius C. Pontius, magistratum occepere.

In the second half of the *Annals* a marked difference in this respect is to be noted. For there are only two attempts to break away from the old formula:

58 A.D. (XIII, 34), Nerone tertium consule simul iniit consulatum Valerius Messala.

65 A.D. (XV, 48), Ineunt deinde consulatum Silius Nerva et Atticus Vestinus.

We have already noticed (p. 6) that only four extant books of the *Annals* (II, IV, v, XIV) begin with a year. In nearly every other case we can detect the reason why the beginning of a year is relegated to a less important place than the commencement of a book. Of course the historian's unit is the *liber*, and into this larger framework he must somehow fit



years which are very far from measuring up to the same standard of interest. Momentous events or those which thrill must be duly assigned, if possible, to the opening or closing of a *liber*. There could be no thought of ignoring the artistic tradition, as represented by Livy, and of reverting to the inflexible structure of the earliest annals.

The books of the *Annals* which have a dramatic or impressive beginning are:

- I, opening with the passing of Augustus.
- III, Agrippina arrives with the ashes of Germanicus.
- IV, the rise of Sejanus, a turning point in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>3</sup>
- V, the death of Livia.<sup>3</sup>
- XIV, the murder of Agrippina.<sup>3</sup>

The books which have a dramatic ending are:

- VI, the death of Tiberius, closing the first grand division of the work.
- XI, the death of Messalina.
- XII, the death of Claudius, closing the second grand division of the work.
- XIV, the deaths of Octavia and Pallas; conspiracy in the air.
- XV, the reign of terror following the conspiracy of Piso, less impressive than the others, but to be included here, as possibly marking the conclusion of another group of books (see below, p. 15).
- [XVI, perhaps ended with the death of Nero (see p. 15 f.).]

So far then as the extant books go, those of the first part of the *Annals* are more impressive at the beginning, those of the second half at the end.

The historian has allowed himself the liberty of recounting first some striking event which did not occur early in that year, finding in the dramatic opening a justification for such disregard of the calendar. Conspicuous examples would be

<sup>3</sup> Here the new consuls are named at the beginning of the book, so that the dramatic requirement and the demands of the most rigid annalist are met at the same time.

Books v and xiv, where the deaths of two empresses are put in the foreground without regard to strict time, and the effect is further heightened by the fact that the year begins with the book. Another principle, that of marking an epoch, brings to the beginning of Book iv the entrance of Sejanus, with which malign influence we enter upon the second period of Tiberius' reign.

But to bring out Tacitus' method in detail one must take up the books in order, and consider in each case how much or how little of the traditional annalist remains in this sequence of tragedies. Space however will forbid such analysis of the contents of the *Annals* here; and we must turn at once to the *Histories*.

It has often been felt that Tacitus' reasons for beginning his first great work with the first of January, 69, a fortnight before the assassination of Galba, were such as could satisfy only a Roman mind, long habituated to the practice of the annalists.<sup>4</sup> Why begin with a mere calendar year, when some momentous event would at once enlist the reader's attention? Hirschfeld went so far as to say, "In his latest and maturest work he indeed avoided this artistic mistake, and began his narrative with the death of Augustus, but did not make bold to discard entirely the annalistic fetters."<sup>5</sup> Was the first of January, 69, in fact so unimportant? And was it an artistic mistake to begin at that point?

First of all one must bear in mind the general plan of the *Histories*, as made plain to us in the opening chapters. The

<sup>4</sup> Thus M. Courbaud in his *Les procédés d'art de Tacite dans les "Histoires"* (1918), 33, says Tacitus followed this method "uniquement par esprit de tradition." "En particulier Tacite, esprit conservateur, . . . a refusé de s'en affranchir; malgré la différence des temps, malgré les progrès de l'art, malgré les vices de cette ordonnance, annaliste il reste dans les *Histoires* par la distribution du récit, annaliste il restera jusqu'à la fin de sa carrière" (p. 34). Mommsen, whose blame expressed itself in such phrases as "nicht zum Vortheil seines Werkes," and "den nicht wohl gewählten Ausgangspunct" (*Herm.* iv, 299), gave this explanation: "man sieht, dass Tacitus sein Buch als eine Fortsetzung bis zum J. 68 reichenden Annalen schrieb" (*ib.* 301).

<sup>5</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, 855 (*Herm.* xxv [1890], 363).



work is to treat of the reigns of the Flavian emperors, with a preliminary account of the struggles which brought that house to the throne. This involved in particular the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius, and, as a prelude, the equally sudden rise of Vitellius to power. Inevitably one is carried back to the very first day of January, and the disloyal conduct of the Rhine legions when called upon on that day to renew the oath of allegiance to Galba. By the 3rd of January all the legions on the Rhine had accepted Vitellius. No doubt it was to Tacitus a welcome coincidence, enabling him to begin his work with a consular year;<sup>6</sup> but the more we weigh the matter the more difficult it becomes to name a date at which a less fallible artist might have made a flawless beginning—surely not with the first battle of Bedriacum and the suicide of Otho, much as is made of that tragedy. From the strictly Flavian standpoint the reign of Otho could be regarded as a mere episode, since the revolt of the *exercitus Germanicus* against Galba was certain to be continued against his upstart successor; from that point of view everything was merely leading up to the supremacy of Vespasian. Thus it appears quite out of the question to begin a history of the Flavian dynasty at any date after the 1st of January, 69.

Those who think it would have been a more artistic introduction if Tacitus had begun with the fall of Nero, seven months before, overlook some highly important considerations. In the first place the *Finis Neronis* was itself a tragedy in several acts, one of which would have carried the reader to Gaul, for the unsuccessful attempt of Vindex, another to Spain, for the rise of Galba. A whole book would have been required, and the narrative it contained could not have begun later than the spring of 68. Again, while we can not say with positiveness that the plan for the *ab Excessu Divi Augusti* had already been definitely formed in Tacitus' mind, it would be most natural for him to leave the fate of Nero to be the

<sup>6</sup> Possibly as a continuation of Fabius Rusticus. In any case, whether such a relation to a predecessor was real, or mere conventional fiction, the Roman reader surely found no fault.



conclusion of another work. In any case it did not lend itself to treatment at the beginning of the book then in hand. One does not begin the history of a new age with detailed narrative of the convulsion which brought the previous epoch to its end. Rather does one begin with the new period, merely recalling in brief such matters relating to the old régime as are necessary to the comprehension of the altered situation. This is precisely what Tacitus does in the first book of the *Histories*. No one surely would defend the thesis that any historian of the Flavian era should have included the whole story of the downfall of the Julio-Claudian house.

Some indeed may have thought that, as in constructing his plan for the *Annals* he chose to begin with the passing of Augustus, so the *Histories* should have commenced with at least a brief narrative of the death of Nero. But an analogy simply does not exist. Between the peaceful transfer of long-established power from the hands of an old man highly respected to an heir-apparent ready at first to carry on the entire policy of his predecessor, accounting every *consilium* as now a positive *praeceptum*, and, on the other hand, the fall of a dynasty in the person of an impossible prince, upon the discovery of that *imperii arcanum* that an emperor could be created by distant legions, we can find nothing but one colossal anomaly. Continuity, so meticulously preserved in the former case, was almost completely broken in the latter. Hence Tacitus can be said to have showed only his usual sense of the fitness of things in leaving Nero's end entirely out of account, whether he had at that moment any thought of future treatment or not.<sup>7</sup>

To proceed in our quest of a suitable opening scene, could he have begun with the arrival of Galba from Spain, probably in September, 69? It was indeed a spectacular entry, but undeserving of such prominence. Certainly there was no

<sup>7</sup> Obviously Galba's tragic end could not be placed at the beginning, for Piso's part in it is essential; hence the story of his adoption must also be included; thus the final act for Galba and Piso is not reached until near the middle of Book 1.



other dramatic scene, nor any striking event in the first months of Galba's residence in Rome, which could have been selected as a better place to begin than the mutiny on the Rhine and usurpation of Vitellius in the first days of January.

Not only was it necessary to prepare the reader in advance for the clash in the plains of the Po, between the legions of Vitellius and those which had espoused the cause of Vespasian; the mere antithesis of West and East was in itself a motif which admitted of skilful handling, to deepen the pervading impression of a world-struggle for the mastery of the world.

The revolt of Lower and Upper Germany unquestionably sealed the fate of Galba, even if the plot of Otho had not sooner disposed of him by assassination in the Forum. Thus what has been said of the episodic character of the narrative of Otho's reign, with its brief resistance to the might of the Rhine legions, might have been applied by a partisan of Vespasian with equal truth to the tragedy of Galba and Piso, a finished drama in itself. Not that we should accuse Tacitus of being such a partisan. Of course he regarded the *Finis Galbae* and the three months' reign and suicide of Otho as on the main line of imperial history. All that is meant is that in planning this history of the Flavian period he had entirely satisfactory reasons for beginning six months before Vespasian's assumption of power, with the somewhat similar situation on the Rhine—the circumstances which blindly brought a nonentity to the throne, until Vespasian could make good his more substantial claims.

The mass of detail required for a narrative of that revolution year demanded much more than a single book. In fact the end of Book III brings us no further than the death of Vitellius, December 21. We continue through two-fifths of Book IV before we are informed that meantime a new year has begun.<sup>8</sup> This unusual form for the entry of a date was due to the desire to avoid an interruption in the account of the

<sup>8</sup> "Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum absentes inierant," *Hist.* iv, 38.



revolt of Civilis, which had carried him over into the year 70. Mention of the new consuls at the precise moment would have broken the thread, bringing the reader back to Rome. Book v begins *Eiusdem anni principio*, but the reference is very vague, serving hardly any other purpose than to remind the reader that Titus' campaign in Judaea falls in the same year. Thus of the books of the *Histories* three and two-fifths are devoted to one year (69), while for the year 70 we have three-fifths of iv and the extant part (less than a third probably) of Book v, with the whole story of the capture of Jerusalem still to be told.

The lack of epitomes, such as enable us to follow Livy's grouping of the lost books,<sup>9</sup> makes a tabulation of book-groups in the *Annals* and *Histories* largely conjectural (see p. 19 f.). Yet such speculation rests in part upon solid foundations, for two successive groups of six books are established beyond question in the *Annals*: (1) The reign of Tiberius, subdivided into two groups of three books, covering respectively the period before (I-III) and after (IV-VI) he came under the influence of Sejanus.<sup>10</sup> (2) The reigns of Caligula and Claudius (VII-XII). For the exact apportionment between these two emperors we are left to conjecture. Two may have been assigned to Caligula, and four to Claudius (four years and four-

<sup>9</sup> Livy's miracle of *dispositio*, one of the marvels of ancient historiography, was admirably set forth half a century ago by Nissen, in *Rh. Mus.* xxvii, 539-561 (especially the table, 544 ff.); cf. Birt, *op. cit.* 136 f. It was obviously impossible for Tacitus to follow Livy in a disposition based upon *ingentia bella* (*Ann.* iv, 32). For him the reigns of the emperors furnished an inevitable framework, filled in many cases with his grisaille of *saeva iussa* and *continuae accusationes* and *fallaces amicitiae*, etc., as he tells us in a long reflective passage—a pause at the end of a year (*l.c.* 33).

<sup>10</sup> These six books on the reign of Tiberius may have been published by themselves before the accession of Hadrian. The memorable passage, *Ann.* ii, 61, can not be said to fix the date of publication of the entire work, but only of a portion, if the successive groups of *libri* were separately issued as completed. Thus Books I-III, or more probably I-VI, may have been all that had been published before the death of Trajan. This would carry the historian's life further into the reign of Hadrian than has generally been assumed. Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* 845.



teen respectively), but probability favors the assignment of one book (VII) to Caligula and five (VIII–XII) to Claudius.

On the analogy of these two groups of six books it has often been argued that the reign of Nero, with the remaining six months and more of 68, also filled six books. This hexad theory, requiring us to accept the existence of a XVIIIth and XIXth book, is attractive both in its symmetry and in providing space for important events which might seem unaccountably crowded in the lost portion of XVI.<sup>11</sup> Further support for the theory will be found if we can discover that Books XIII–XV form a unit, comparable to I–III in the case of Tiberius. There is indeed a certain pause at the end of XV—the Terror which followed the conspiracy of Piso, with which event the historian may have wished to divide the reign into two periods. We may fairly claim that such was his original intention, and that this plan involved a total of eighteen books in three hexads. Whether the plan was ever carried out, however, is another question.

If the coming of Galba, and subsequent events to the end of 68, were included, this scheme would establish complete continuity with the first book of the *Histories*, a thing much desired by the student of history. But if the narrative of the year 68 was rounded out to completion, what was to be done with that first book of the *Histories*, with its many allusions, now unnecessary for the reader in course, its pictures, now displaced by others more detailed and perhaps more vivid in the last books of the *Annals*? Were these features to disappear in a complete revision, and was such recension to sacrifice the masterly introduction, a *chef-d'œuvre* for which the later work has no parallel? Needless to say, no ancient historian would have contemplated such consolidation, not to mention the differences in style between the two works, sufficient in themselves to preclude any attempted amalgama-

<sup>11</sup> Assuming that the second half of 68 was included—a quite unnecessary assumption. Having begun the *Annals* in the middle of a year, he may have closed the work with a similar independence of annalistic tradition.



tion. These are surely considerations which strongly support the view that the *Annals* came to an end with the *Finis Neronis*.

St. Jerome's oft-cited "vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit" (*Comm. in Zach.* III, 14) shows no more than the uncritical habit (confirmed by the numbering in the second Medici codex) of making one corpus out of two quite distinct works. The thirty *libri* are, of course, neatly divided into five hexads by those who find themselves able to accept that theory, as Hirschfeld,<sup>12</sup> Wölfflin,<sup>13</sup> Andresen,<sup>14</sup> Goelzer<sup>15</sup> and others. But we must go on to consider how a residuum of twelve books will work out for the *Histories*. Admirably, to be sure, if two hexads can be shown to be sufficient. But if not?

One group of three books at the beginning is certain, containing events of that interminable revolution year down to the death of Vitellius in December. As Book v could not possibly have carried the story over into 71, it is clear that any pause there may have been at the end of Book vi, to mark the conclusion of a second group of three, can have been scarcely

<sup>12</sup> *L.c.* (1877).

<sup>13</sup> "Die hexadische Composition des Tacitus," *Herm.* XXI (1886), 157-159. Wölfflin found himself unable to discover in *Ann.* XVI space for the eventful years 67-68; but he was ready to crowd eleven years of Vespasian and Titus into the viith book of the *Histories*, and then give six whole books to Domitian. His alternative scheme, assigning the viith book to Titus, is little better, since Vespasian gets only one book after the fall of Jerusalem (nine years), while five books are awarded to the fifteen years of Domitian. Thus the hexadic theory, not without plausibility for the *Annals* as originally planned, becomes a veritable bed of Procrustes for the *Histories*.

<sup>14</sup> Nipperdey-Andresen, *Annals*<sup>10</sup>, *Einkl.* 17 f. Nipperdey had held that the *Annals* had sixteen books, and so Andresen in earlier editions.

<sup>15</sup> *Œuvres de Tacite* (1920), *Introd.* xxxix. M. Goelzer accepts Wölfflin's impossibly crowded viith book for the *Histories*, with the remark that there was no reason for the same degree of detail for the rest of Vespasian's reign and that of Titus. But such glaring inequalities of treatment would certainly offend the sense of symmetry far more than any departure from a hexad system. M. Doudinot de la Boissière admits the difficulty of believing that six books and a half could suffice to complete the work, but remains undecided: "le mieux est de s'abstenir de toute affirmation précise" (*Tacite, Œuvres choisies* [1923], 210).



later than the triumph over Judaea and the closing of the Temple of Janus in that year. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the remainder of the reign occupied Books VII-IX, with an average of three years to the book. Thus the reign of Vespasian would fill a hexad (IV-IX), following an introductory group of three.

There remain then the reigns of Titus and Domitian, to be treated in three books, if we are to accept twelve books as the limit. On this plan we may assign one book to Titus (two years), and two to Domitian, but the latter with a suspiciously high average of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years—an unbelievable restraint for the *indignatio* of a historian now breathing freely under Trajan, and having at that time, so far as we can divine, no motive for such extreme condensation. It is far more probable that Tacitus here fell back upon the five-book group so familiar to readers of Livy, and, after devoting one book (X) to Titus, assigned four to Domitian. If subdivision into two groups of two books each was desired, he may have taken breath at the end of a XIIth book at the *Ludi Saeculares* (88 A.D.) in which as a quindecimvir and praetor he had a personal interest, as he reminds us in *Ann.* XI, 11. This gives an average of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years to Books XI and XII, leaving an average of four years for a remaining XIII and XIV, figures which agree very closely with those for extant portions of the *Annals*.

Thus it seems scarcely possible that the *Histories* had less than fourteen books, grouped perhaps as follows:  $3 + (3 + 3) + (1 + 4)$ . But St. Jerome's figure thirty, which is generally accepted as entirely reliable, does not at once oblige us to assume that the *Annals*, as originally planned, had only sixteen books, instead of the eighteen which many find necessary, in view of the amount of material still to be disposed of after the date at which our manuscript breaks off in XVI, 35.

It remains highly probable that the historian, as he approached the end of his task, deliberately abandoned a scheme so nicely symmetrical, and, realizing that unity with the *Histories* was stylistically all but impossible and dramatically



unthinkable, hastened the dénouement, closed Book XVI with that scene at the villa of Phaon, and thus concluded the entire work. Nor is it necessary to imagine that failing strength may have contributed to such abandonment of a plan which promised to sacrifice far too much to mere nicety of grouping—a numerical system effective enough in the earlier portions of the work, but now very properly to be discarded. Furthermore he may have resented the mere idea of another sacrifice to the annalistic rule, with its pedantic requirement of an aftermath lacking any better motive than the desire to reach the 31st of December.

It was in fact with increasing freedom that Tacitus had followed the old method of the annalists—that “annalistische Schablone” of which Hirschfeld spoke with a scorn to which one may well take exception.<sup>16</sup> To view the matter for the moment from the merely practical standpoint, it is not often, I take it, that most of us put ourselves in the place of the Roman student of history, and imagine ourselves at work in an ancient library, consulting different historians, none of whose works offered any subdivision of the roll-unit, or rubrics to guide us to the particular narrative in question, not to dwell upon the lack of index and table of contents, or the inconvenience of the roll form for one occupied with a comparison of limited portions of several bulky works.<sup>17</sup> In that situation we should certainly welcome every help in discovering the desired passages, and the more frequently trite forms, such as ———— *consulibus*, or *eodem anno* and the like recurred, the more promptly should we find our way to the desired *locus*. Before pouring contempt upon the “Schablone”

<sup>16</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, 857 (*Herm.* xxv, 365). Cf. Fabia, “La règle annalistique,” *Journal des Savants*, 1900, pp. 433–442.

<sup>17</sup> Nissen assumed for Livy two *libri* of contents, as the ultimate source of our *periochae*, and placed these *libri* at the end, to round out his scheme of a possible 150 books (*Rh. Mus.* xxvii, 558). Works less colossal were sometimes provided with epitomes, *e.g.* those prefixed to the books of Diodorus. But as a rule this seems to have been done long after the author's day, and even where the reader had an epitome, the mass of text was unbroken by rubrics or headings from one end of the *liber* to the other.

it would be well to consider the very obvious practical advantages afforded by its well-marked aids, especially to a reader desiring to compare parallel narratives in three or four different historians. This consideration alone renders highly improbable Hirschfeld's contention that Tacitus, had he ever written that history of the founding of the Empire (a plan before his mind when he wrote *Ann.* III, 24), "would probably have ventured to take the decisive step and would have broken entirely with the annalistic pattern."<sup>18</sup> Failing to discover any evidence that he viewed such a step as even remotely possible, we may well prefer to agree with M. Courbaud's "annaliste il restera jusqu'à la fin de sa carrière."<sup>19</sup> But we shall qualify that statement with the reservation that he was entirely free to close the *Annals* with a tragedy in the month of June, especially if the remainder of the year had been sufficiently treated by an able predecessor, such as Fabius Rusticus.

The following table will serve as a summary, frankly admitting by its italics for the lost books how far any attempt to restore Tacitus' *dispositio* must stand upon the uncertain ground of conjecture. It may fairly challenge comparison, however, with any similar table based upon the hexad theory, with the striking inequalities which the latter involves.

ANNALS						Average, years per book
Books	Years					
First Part, Reign of Tiberius						
6 {	3 a)	I-III	August, A.D. 14-22, December	better part of reign		3-
	3 b)	IV-VI	January, 23-37, March	decline, under influence of Sejanus, etc.		5-
Second Part, Reigns of Caligula and Claudius						
6 {	1 a)	VII	March, 37-41, January	<i>reign of Caligula</i>		4-
	5 b)	VIII-XII	January, 41-54, October	<i>reign of Claudius</i>		3-
Third Part, Reign of Nero						
4	XIII-XVI	October, 54-68, June	<i>ending with death of Nero (?)</i>			3 1/2

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* 857.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* 34.



## HISTORIES

## First Part, Rise and Reign of Vespasian

9	{	3	a) I-III	January, 69-69, December 21	civil war, from the rise of Vitellius	1/3
		3	b) IV-VI	December, 69-71	reign of Vespasian, to the triumph over Judaea (?)	2/3
		3	b') VII-IX	71-79, June	remainder of the reign	3

## Second Part, Reigns of Titus and Domitian

5	{	1	a) x	June, 79-81, September	reign of Titus	2
		2	b) XI-XII	September, 81-88, summer	reign of Domitian, to the Ludi Saeculares (?)	3 1/2
		2	b') XIII-XIV	summer, 88-96, September	remainder of Domitian's reign	4



II.—*Petrarch's Favorite Books*

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One of the most notable contributions to the history of the Renaissance is Pierre de Nolhac's *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*.<sup>1</sup> Its peculiar importance is due to the fact that it gives in minute detail the literary influences that affected the "first modern man." As Nolhac says (p. 33), antiquity was revealed to Petrarch by its writers, and the history of his library, if one could have it in complete form, would be the history of his soul. The present contribution to the history of his library may therefore not be without interest to all humanists, whether they be specialists in ancient or in modern literature and history. As Petrarch's modernness consisted in his enthusiasm for antiquity, he serves well as a tie that binds together all humanists.

In 1896 Léopold Delisle, the famous palaeographer, published an article on a manuscript once owned by Petrarch.<sup>2</sup> It contains Cassiodorus' *de Anima* and Augustine's *de Vera Religione*. On the fly-leaf at the end there appears a list of books in Petrarch's handwriting. Besides printing it, Delisle gives an excellent reproduction. The list has a heading which can now be read only with difficulty. Delisle read it *libri mei. Peculiares ad religionem, non transfuga, sed exul?* . . . Novati<sup>3</sup> improved this by reading *non transfuga, sed explorator*. He pointed out that this was an allusion to Seneca, *Ep.* i, 2, 5: "Soleo enim et in aliena castra transire, non tamquam transfuga, sed tamquam explorator." He interpreted the heading as follows: the books in the list are pagan works; books peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Second edition, Paris, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice sur un livre annoté par Pétrarque (Ms. latin 2201 de la Bibliothèque Nationale) tiré des Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, xxxv, 2.

<sup>3</sup> In a review of Delisle's article in *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* xxix (1897), 524-525.

to religion are mentioned in another list. Sabbadini<sup>4</sup> went still farther in deciphering and interpreting the heading. He saw that the last two words (after *explorator*) are *transire soleo*, found in the Senecan passage. He connected *peculiares* with the preceding words *libri mei* and interpreted them to refer to the books which belonged to Petrarch personally. The rest of the heading was taken to mean that the field of Petrarch's researches is the pagan, whereas in the Christian field he makes his bow only occasionally. He pointed out the familiar fact that Petrarch did not begin to take a great interest in the Christian writers until he reached middle age. Nolz (II, 293 ff.<sup>5</sup>) takes much the same view.<sup>6</sup>

After four such eminent scholars as Delisle, Novati, Sabbadini, and Nolz had dealt with this point there would seem to be nothing left that could be added. But I have one small contribution to make which entirely changes the interpretation of a document which Nolz (II, 296) calls extremely precious for the intellectual biography of Petrarch and the history of humanism itself.

Apparently all the scholars who have examined the manuscript in Delisle's facsimile have been handicapped by too great a knowledge of Petrarch's life: knowing of Petrarch's early indifference to Christian literature, they thought they saw the word *religionem*, when as a matter of fact Petrarch clearly wrote *reliquos*, as several persons, including those skilled and those unskilled in palaeography, said of their own accord when I showed them the facsimile.<sup>7</sup> The meaning then is: 'My specially prized books. To the others I usually resort not as a deserter but as a scout.' For the meaning of

<sup>4</sup> *Il primo nucleo della biblioteca del Petrarca*, in *Rendiconti del R. Ist. Lomb. di sc. e lett., Serie II*, Vol. XXXIX (1906), 369-388.

<sup>5</sup> References in parenthesis are to the book of Nolz's previously mentioned. Vol. II, pp. 293-296 (Excursus VII) are reprinted with unimportant changes from the *Revue des bibliothèques*, XVI (1906), 341-344.

<sup>6</sup> The most recent repetition of this view is in Gummere's *Seneca the Philosopher and his Modern Message*, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> The excellent heliogravure is quite as clear as the original manuscript, which I examined.



*peculiares* we may compare, if necessary, the use in the Vulgate, Deut. 14: 2, *in populum peculiarem*, and 26: 18, *populus peculiaris*.

There seems to be a dot after *peculiares*, as Sabbadini prints it. In any case, Petrarch must first have written the general title *Libri mei* and then decided to add *peculiares*, which he put in a separate line for emphasis and because he wanted to explain it with the quotation from Seneca. By this he means that the books listed are his intimate friends, whereas others he merely glances at occasionally, as a scout in the enemy's camp, not as a deserter who goes over to the enemy for good and all. This interpretation is amply confirmed by a similar comparison in one of the letters: "Legi semel apud Ennium, apud Plautum, apud Felicem Capellam, apud Apuleium, et legi raptim, propere, nullam ibi, ut alienis in finibus, moram trahens; sic praetereunti multa contigit ut uiderem, pauca decerperem, pauciora reponerem eaque ut communia in aperto et in ipso, ut ita dixerim, memoriae uestibulo" (*Fam.* XXII, 2; *anno* 1359). The thought and in part the language of this sentence is similar to that of the same letter of Seneca. Compare "certis ingeniis inmorari . . . oportet, si velis aliquid trahere . . . omnia cursim et properantes transmittunt . . . cum multa percurreris, unum excerpe." The point of Seneca's letter is to stress the importance of having a few favorite books to which one should come back again and again—exactly the thought of Petrarch's *libri mei peculiares*. If one has this habit, says Seneca, then one may take an occasional dip elsewhere: "non tamquam transfuga," etc.

The Senecan passage is quoted also in a well-known letter sent to Wibald, Abbot of Corvey, by a prior of Hildesheim about 1150:<sup>8</sup> "Quamvis Tullii libros habere desideres scio tamen te Christianum esse non Ciceronianum. Transis enim et in aliena castra," etc. Nothing brings out in more striking fashion an essential difference between the Middle

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts*, p. 70, and translated in Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I<sup>3</sup>, 619.

Ages and the Renaissance than the different way in which the mediaeval prior and the first modern man adapt the quotation from Seneca. To the prior, Cicero is in the enemy's camp; the Christian writers are in his own. To Petrarch, Cicero is a most precious friend, while the Christian writers, with the one exception of Augustine, are in the enemy's camp.

It may be noted here that Seneca himself had in mind the following passages: Horace, *Carm.* III, 16, 22-24, "Nil cupientium nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum partis linquere gestio"; *Epist.* I, 1, 15, "quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes"; Cicero, *Fam.* IX, 20, 1, "in Epicuri nos, adversari nostri, castra coniecimus."

Sabbadini and Nohac, as a result of their false reading of the heading, have drawn from the list a number of inferences about Petrarch's library which would be extremely important if true. Sabbadini calls the list the first nucleus of Petrarch's library, Nohac makes it the first library of Vacluse. Delisle, with instinctive caution, saw in it a catalogue "of at least a part" of Petrarch's books. It should be said that there appear to be three lists, but the first and third were written at the same time and should be considered one. The second list was written later, as shown by its contents.<sup>9</sup> The handwriting of the first is cursive and is similar to that used by Petrarch in his earlier years. It reappears in a note in another manuscript dated March 21, 1337, and Sabbadini thinks that our list must date from about that time. But the cursive style is also found much later in Petrarch autographs, as may be seen from Monaci's facsimiles.<sup>10</sup> Two other entries of Petrarch's in our manuscript are dated 1335 and 1338, showing that it was in Petrarch's hands at least as early as 1335. But Sabbadini and Nohac, taking the list as a complete

<sup>9</sup> Nohac (I, 222, II, 294, n. 6) goes so far as to suppose that the two lists with identical titles indicate that Petrarch owned two copies of the books mentioned! So too Gummere, *l. c.* Sabbadini thinks that the second list is one of books intended for a journey.

<sup>10</sup> *Archivio paleografico italiano.*



catalogue of Petrarch's books (his pagan books at least) at the time it was made, date it from the absence of certain volumes. So Nolzac assigns it to the year 1337 because it does not mention two manuscripts bought by Petrarch in Rome in that year (I, 42, n. 2; II, 295). Sabbadini argues that the date must be later than April 17, 1338, because Virgil figures in the list, and Petrarch's Virgil, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was stolen in 1326 and not recovered until April 17, 1338, as attested by a manuscript note of Petrarch's. But it is impossible to believe that Petrarch was without a copy of his favorite poet's works for twelve years. It is to be remembered that he had another copy before he obtained the Ambrosian manuscript, for he tells us that his Virgil was rescued from the flames to which his father had consigned his classical books. This cannot be identified with the Ambrosian Virgil, which shows no trace of contact with fire, as Sabbadini himself points out. Nolzac is probably wrong in his distinction between the earlier and later styles of Petrarch's handwriting; otherwise his statement that there is no trace of the earlier style (so-called) in the marginal notes of the Ambrosian Virgil (I, 144) would show that Petrarch did not make much use of this manuscript until his later years. At any rate, the death notices of friends and relatives which the manuscript contains date from 1348 to 1372 (II, 283). All this shows that before 1338 Petrarch must have made much use of another copy.

But before going into the question of the date of the list, let us consider its arrangement and interpretation. In the following I shall show how well this list agrees with Petrarch's express statements about the books he read, with his quotations, and with his annotations.

In listing his favorite books it is clear that Cicero's works came to his mind first and foremost, and among these the "moral" works held first place. Apparently he first put down the titles of Cicero's philosophical books under the heading *Moralia*. Petrarch's interest in the moral side of the books he



read can easily be shown.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that the rhetorical works were added to the list and not jotted down at once from the fact that the name *M. Tullii* is written opposite the center (fifth) line of the philosophical titles.

That Cicero should be given the place of honor in the list of Petrarch's books will surprise no one. His influence on Petrarch was as great as it is well known (I, 11, 59, 123, 213, 217, 220, 221, 222; II, 90). If Petrarch was the father of humanism, Cicero was its grandfather.

It is not certain when Petrarch came into possession of the Cicero manuscript now at Troyes. From the handwriting of the notes, Nolzac judges that it must have been in Petrarch's hands not much later than 1344. But he may have owned it earlier, though probably not as early as the time he made up his list of favorite books. It may be that the manuscript was made expressly for Petrarch (I, 227), which would explain why it contains all the works mentioned in the list but one, the sixth book of the *Republic*. As in the list, so in the Troyes manuscript the *Moralia* precede the rhetorical works.

The *Tusculans*, which is second in the list, is one of Petrarch's favorites. He cites it more often than any other philosophical work (I, 247). The essays on friendship and old age, which hold fourth and fifth places in the list, were also special favorites of Petrarch's (I, 237). According to Sabbadini, the *invective* of the list refer to the Catilinarian orations, which in the Troyes manuscript have this title. But this seems unlikely, as these orations ought to be included among the *orationes communes* of the list. Rather, the *invective* are the pseudo-Ciceronian invective against Sallust and the reply. It is true that in the Troyes manuscript they are called *controversiae*, but Petrarch himself calls them invectives.<sup>12</sup>

Next to Cicero, Seneca holds the most important place. The works of these two authors alone are enumerated in de-

<sup>11</sup> Nolzac, I, 19, "il travaille plutôt en moraliste qu'en historien" (in his historical composition); II, 32, "moraliste du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, disciple attardé de Cicéron et de Sénèque."

<sup>12</sup> *Contra Med.* I; see Nolzac, I, 229, n. 4.

tail in the list. Petrarch has been called the modern Seneca. His writings are filled with allusions to that author.<sup>13</sup> As moralist and stylist both he is indebted to Seneca no less than to Cicero, though he holds Cicero in higher esteem (II, 124). The letters to Lucilius head the list, coming just below the quotation from them. These letters played a most important part in Petrarch's philosophical development (II, 116). Next comes the *de Clementia (ad Neronem)*, followed by the *de Remediis Fortuitorum*, which was the inspiration of Petrarch's *de Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*. Then come the *Tragedies*, about which Petrarch is not so enthusiastic, though he praises them highly (II, 118). The next three titles (*de Tranquillitate, de Consolatione, de Brevitate Vitae*) were added at a later time, in the second style of handwriting, as Delisle saw. Furthermore, Seneca's name is centered for the first four entries, not including these last titles. The three works are found together in manuscripts of the *Dialogi*.

Aristotle's *Ethics* was then added in a crowded space between Cicero and Seneca. It is not really a later addition, as Delisle thought, for the handwriting is the same, nor is it the first in the list, as Nollac has it (I, 42). Petrarch is not so fond of Aristotle as of other writers (II, 148). His manuscript of the *Ethics* and *Politics* (in the Latin translation of course) contains few of his notes, and all of these are on the *Ethics* (II, 151).

Boethius is next among the *Morales*. His name does not seem to have been a later insertion, as Delisle thought. Petrarch was very fond of the *de Consolatione* (II, 106-107).

The historians come next, with Valerius Maximus heading the list. History was one of Petrarch's favorite studies (II, 1). Valerius served as his model in the *Liber rerum memorandarum* and is cited by him frequently elsewhere.<sup>14</sup>

But it is Livy who was Petrarch's favorite historian (II, 9, 11, 12; I, 11), and Livy comes second in our list. Petrarch's

<sup>13</sup> Nollac, II, 116, says there are sixty direct quotations in the *Familiares* alone, besides innumerable reminiscences.

<sup>14</sup> Nollac, II, 45: "Son exemplaire de Valère-Maxime devait porter beaucoup de notes de sa main."



manuscript of Livy, still extant, was one of his handsomest books and was profusely annotated by him.

Justinus, third in the list, is made use of by Petrarch and receives an appreciative notice from him (II, 35). Florus was used by Petrarch as his chief model in historical style (II, 34-35). Two of Petrarch's manuscripts which are extant contain Florus, and he probably had a third. Sallust is frequently cited by Petrarch and is praised for his style (II, 37; cf. 205). Suetonius and Eutropius are found in one of Petrarch's manuscripts together with Florus, but Nohac thinks that he must have had other manuscripts of these authors, for the one we have shows few traces of the study which Petrarch gave them (II, 34). Suetonius in particular was praised by Petrarch. The Festus in the list is not Paulus Diaconus' abridgment of Festus, as Nohac thought (II, 295), but Rufus Festus' *Breviarium*, similar to that of Eutropius.<sup>15</sup>

The compilers of *Excerpta* are appended directly to the historians without intervening space because it is their excerpts from history in which Petrarch was chiefly interested. Yet they are thought of as separate from the historians, as the word *ystor(ia)* is centered for the eight historians previously mentioned. Macrobius and Gellius, especially the former, held an important place in Petrarch's reading (II, 103). Since he often refers to Gellius' work by title only, Nohac suggests that the author's name was unknown to him in his earlier years. But the presence of the name Agellius, the mediaeval form, in our list, which must be fairly early, as we shall see, makes this suggestion unlikely, as well as the one that the occurrence of the name in some of Petrarch's letters is due to later insertion. It should be noted further that the letter *l* in *Saturnalia* and *Agellius* has not the cursive form which it has in the words which precede. This, however, is scarcely an indication of later addition, as it occurs in other words, e.g. *Juuenal(is)*, which cannot be a later addition be-

<sup>15</sup> So too Sabbadini in his review of Nohac's book in *La Cultura*, xxvi (1907), 349.

cause the word *poet(ica)* is centered for all the poets in the list, including Juvenal.<sup>16</sup>

The poets come next, headed, of course, by Virgil, Petrarch's favorite poet, who was a rival with Cicero himself for the affections of our humanist (I, 11, 59, 123, 180). His manuscript of Virgil, now in the Ambrosian library at Milan, contains more of Petrarch's notations than any other of his books (I, 160). The epic poets Lucan and Statius follow Virgil in our list. Lucan is quoted frequently in Petrarch's writings (I, 194), Statius less frequently (I, 198). The phrase which follows, *Horatius presertim in odis*, is now quite comprehensible, with our new light on the significance of the list. Petrarch merely means that his greatest enthusiasm is for the *Odes*. His fondness for Horace is clear enough (I, 11). His letters to classical authors include only two to Roman poets, Virgil and Horace. It is precisely the *Odes* which he favors in his letter to Horace, as elsewhere, in striking contrast to the attitude of earlier centuries (I, 151). Horace is cited oftener than any other poet except Virgil. *Ovidius presertim in maiori* probably refers to the *Metamorphoses*, as we know from Boccaccio's similar use.<sup>17</sup> The elegiac poems are in a class with those of Propertius, who is not mentioned. Yet Petrarch quotes and imitates the elegiac poems more frequently than the *Metamorphoses* (I, 177). They were known to him from his earliest youth. Juvenal, last in the list, is cited frequently by Petrarch (I, 186).

Then come the grammarians, with Priscian at the head. Petrarch read Priscian in his youth and thought of him as occupying the same position in grammar that Cicero held in oratory and Virgil in poetry (II, 104, n. 4). Next come Papias

<sup>16</sup> The use of cursive and formal elements together is found also in Petrarch's notes on the Palatine manuscript of the *Historia Augusta* (Ballou, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta*, p. 20).

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to Miss Cornelia C. Coulter for this information. She reports that in the *Genealogia deorum* Boccaccio uses the phrase *in maiori* or *in maiori volumine* six times in quoting the *Metamorphoses* (I, 10; II, 1; IV, 3; IV, 54; IV, 68; VI, 53), but not at all in quoting other works.



and Donatus, the latter added as an afterthought in the same line in the earlier cursive style of writing. The *Catholicon*, which comes last, is perhaps that of Johannes de Janua (Balbi), as Nollac suggests (II, 295), though Petrarch does not quote him (II, 213, n. 2).

Under *Dialectica*, there is mentioned *Tractatus et nil ultra*. No suggestion has been made as to the identity of this work. Possibly it is the third and most considerable chapter of Cassiodorus' *Liber saecularium litterarum*, of which Petrarch's manuscript copy is extant (I, 205). In a note in the Troyes Cicero, Petrarch quotes *Cassiodorus in libro saecularium litterarum c. de dialectica* (I, 243). On the other hand, there is in the inventory made in 1426 of the library of Pavia, into which many of Petrarch's books passed, an item which exactly fits the entry in Petrarch's list and which may have belonged to him:<sup>18</sup> *Tractatus logice dialectice*<sup>19</sup> . . . *Incipit Dialectica est ars artium. et finitur dicta sufficient.* My friend, Professor Paul Lehmann of Munich, has identified this for me as the *ars dialectica* of Petrus Hispanus, who studied under Albertus Magnus at Paris and later became Pope John XXI. There is a manuscript of this work in the Ambrosian library (Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl.* I, 503 c). Among other manuscripts are three in Munich (8401, 12304, 18941), as Professor Lehmann informs me. I also find two mentioned in Truhlár's catalogue of the Prague manuscripts (2567, 2605).

In astrology, the first entry in the list is *Spera*, which stands for *Sphaera* and may be any one of several mediaeval treatises. The inventory of the library of Pavia, which, as has been said, contained many of Petrarch's books, has the item *Alfregnanus cum tractatu in spera, et Alberto de Mineralibus*.<sup>20</sup> An older contemporary of Petrarch, Cecco d'Ascoli, wrote a *Sphaera mundi*. It may be a mere coincidence that he taught at

<sup>18</sup> D'Adda, *Indagini storiche . . . sulla libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca . . . di Pavia* (1875), no. 13.

<sup>19</sup> This word was later crossed out.

<sup>20</sup> D'Adda, *op. cit.*, no. 290.

Bologna while Petrarch was a student there.<sup>21</sup> The next phrase, *Macrobius, sed iste intelligitur accessorius tractatui suo, sicut et reliqui commentatores*, must mean that Macrobius' commentary on the sixth book of Cicero's *Republic* incidentally contains astrological lore and that other commentators on ancient writers also give occasional information. But I am not entirely satisfied with the reading *sicut*. Only the first two letters are clear, and they look more like *fi*. There is room for *Fi(r)mic(us)*. The *Mathesis* of this author is quoted by Petrarch several times and is mildly praised. He calls Firmicus an *astrologus* (II, 106).

Below this list there is written upside down in the cursive style *nobili viro d(omi)no hosti(um)*. This was evidently written before anything else. It separates the first list from the so-called third list, which, as I have said, is really part of the first list. The third list contains works of Augustine alone without the author's name and without a subject heading. The absence of the latter may suggest uncertainty as to the place of Christian writings. At any rate these come to his mind last. Augustine was his favorite among them, being cited some 600 times in the letters alone (II, 192). Among the bright stars of the Church he is the sun (*Fam.* iv, 15). The *de Civitate Dei* is mentioned first. We still have Petrarch's copy of it. A note indicating that the book was bought in 1325 is the earliest of Petrarch's dated autographs (II, 196, 197). The *Confessions*, mentioned next, was one of Petrarch's favorites (II, 192). He carried a copy about with him in his travels, even to the top of Mt. Ventoux (II, 193, 194). It served as a model for his *Secretum*.

The second list was clearly written later, as shown by its content if not its script. It is obviously a more select list than the other. It includes one addition: the book in which the list is written, containing Cassiodorus' *de Anima* and Augustine's *de Vera Religione*. It naturally is put first under

<sup>21</sup> G. Boffito, "Il *De principiis astrologiae* di Cecco D'Ascoli" in *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.*, Suppl. vi (1903).



the designation *Iste*. Then come Cicero's philosophical works, this time with the *Tusculans* ahead of the *Republic*. As we saw, the *Tusculans* is cited by Petrarch more often than any other philosophical work. There are other changes in order. The *Divinatio*, *Academica*, *de Natura Deorum* are omitted, as are all the rhetorical works. Aristotle is omitted, as we might have surmised. Boethius is ahead of Seneca this time. The letters to Lucilius are expressly mentioned, since Petrarch esteemed them the most highly of Seneca's writings, whereas the *Tragedies* are expressly excepted, which is not surprising, as Petrarch had some doubts about their genuineness. We wonder why he omitted the name of his favorite historian, Livy. Was it due to accident or to a temporary estrangement or had he not possessed the copy of Livy long enough to become thoroughly enamoured of its flowing narrative? It is to be remembered that in the first list Livy takes second place after Valerius Maximus. The other historians whose names are omitted came at the end of the first list: Suetonius, Festus, Eutropius. The compilers of *Excerpta* are omitted entirely. About the poets he has not changed his mind. Priscian is the only grammarian, as we might expect. The dialecticians, astrologers, and Augustine are omitted.

It is interesting to compare the two lists with the list of authors most frequently cited by Petrarch in his writings. Augustine is cited almost 1200 times (II, 192, n. 3)—and Augustine is the only Christian writer in the first list. Cicero's *Tusculans* is cited more frequently than any other Ciceronian work—and it comes second among the works of Cicero in the first list, first in the second list. The *de Finibus* is perhaps next in the number of quotations; it is not in the list because Petrarch did not have a copy at the time. On the other hand, Isidorus, of whose work he had a copy long before, is cited only three times and does not appear in the list. Among the poets, Virgil takes first place in the number of citations and in the list. In number of citations, Horace is next with 150. Then comes Ovid. Lucan is cited 40 times, Terence 30,



Juvenal more than 20, Plautus 20, Statius 15, Persius more than 8, Claudian 8, Ausonius 3, Propertius 0. In the list Lucan and Statius are placed after Virgil, ahead of Horace and Ovid, because they are epic poets. Terence, Plautus, Persius, Claudian, Ausonius, Propertius are not in the list, the first two because Petrarch obtained these works later. He had a manuscript of Propertius, perhaps at the time of the list.

The quotations in the margins of some of Petrarch's books also confirm the inferences drawn from the list as to his favorite authors, though of course one must take into account the difference of content of the various books. His Virgil is particularly rich in quotations (I, 156 ff). Virgil, Macrobius, and Priscian are cited *passim*, according to Nolz. Cicero is quoted much less frequently, 25 times in all, the *de Natura Deorum*, *Tusculanae*, and *de Divinatione* being well in the lead. The other leaders are Seneca 49 (44 of these in the *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, none in the *Tragedies*), Horace 38 (22 in the *Odes*), Lactantius 33, Ovid 32 (28 in the *Metamorphoses*), Lucan 23, Isidorus 18, Apuleius 17, Livy 15, Juvenal 10, Pliny 9, Statius, Pomponius Mela, and Augustine 7 (5 in the *de Civitate Dei*). Of the above, Lactantius, Isidorus, Apuleius, Pliny, and Mela are not in the list. In the notes on Petrarch's Pliny, Valerius Maximus comes next to Cicero with 10 quotations, then comes Suetonius with 7, Virgil, Macrobius, and Valerius Maximus with 5 each. In the manuscript of Cassiodorus and Augustine which contains our list, Cicero is cited 19 times (*Tusculans* 9), Augustine 12, Virgil 9, Macrobius 7, Sallust 3, Boethius, Lucan, Ovid twice each, Cassiodorus (*de Anima*), Cyprian, Horace (*Odes*), Juvenal, Plato, Pliny, Terence once each.

Finally, attention may be called to Petrarch's letters to the dead authors whose works he had. They include Virgil, Horace, Homer, Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Quintilian. Homer and Quintilian are not in our list because Petrarch had not yet procured their works, as we happen to know.

Now that we have seen that the list is not a complete catalogue, but merely a 'five-foot shelf' of favorites, we can not use Nolzac's method of dating it by the absence of certain books the date of whose acquisition by Petrarch is known. As a matter of fact, Nolzac's interpretation was open to suspicion because Petrarch owned at least one book not in the list long before the list could have been made. We still have his copy of Isidorus, with the note that it was bought for him when a boy by his father. The fact that in the second list there is one addition, that of the book in which the list appears, may suggest that the first list was written soon after the acquisition of the book, before Petrarch had become thoroughly fond of it. This would be at least as early as 1335, when Petrarch copied a prayer into the manuscript. But this is a mere possibility. While it is not safe to argue in general from the absence of titles in the list, we may be fairly certain that Petrarch would have entered other works of Cicero in the list if he had had them. There can be no doubt, for example, that he would have included the *Letters to Atticus*, which he acquired in 1345. This then must be a *terminus ante quem*. Another earlier *terminus* is furnished by the use of the title *Hortensius* for the *Academica*. Petrarch discovered the correct title in 1343 (I, 245). In fact he knew that the title *Hortensius* was incorrect before this, but we can not say just when. It may be that the omission of the title *Hortensius* in the second list shows that it dates from the time when Petrarch was undeceived about the work, but this line of reasoning is scarcely safe. It would seem that in 1333 Petrarch got a copy of Augustine's *Confessions* (I, 39; Sabbadini, *Rendiconti*, p. 378). This date is perhaps a *terminus post quem* for our list, although he may have had another copy before that time. In this book he read about Cicero's *Hortensius*, and soon after (*statim*) he received a book with this title.<sup>22</sup> Possibly he refers to the Troyes manuscript, as Sabbadini assumes. In that case this manuscript was in Petrarch's hands in 1333 or

<sup>22</sup> *Sen.* xv, 1; Nolzac, I, 244.



1334. We have seen that he may have had it when he made his list but it seems more likely that he did not get it till somewhat later. The list does not include the *de Fato*, or the *Partitiones*, or the *de Legibus*, which are in the Troyes manuscript. This fact would seem to invalidate either the assumption that he had the Troyes manuscript when he made his list or the suggestion that he would naturally include all the works of Cicero which he possessed. To be sure, he *may* have overlooked these works. Nolz states (I, 237-238) that with the second copy of the *de Fato* (there are two in the manuscript), which is followed by the *de Legibus*, there begins a new series of quaternions. This may indicate that these works were added later and would explain the omission of the *de Legibus* from the list. On the other hand, he seems to have had a copy of the *de Legibus* before this.<sup>23</sup> As to the *Partitiones*, the title in the Troyes manuscript is so vague (*liber Rhetorice sub compendio*) that the general subject heading *Rhetorica* covers it sufficiently. In any case the works mentioned do not play the part in Petrarch's life that the *Letters to Atticus* did. It would be unthinkable for him to omit them from his list, if he had them at the time.

This is almost as true of the *de Finibus*, which is neither in the list nor in the Troyes manuscript. Its omission in both is striking. It was one of Petrarch's favorites and accompanied him on his journeys. On one of them he became ill and searched in his bag for his copy, as he tells us in one of his epistles in verse.<sup>24</sup> The date of the epistle is 1344. An earlier reference to the *de Finibus* is in the *Secretum*, written in 1342. There are also references in his letters *de Familiaribus Rebus*, but it is well known that in editing them Petrarch made additions.

Another *terminus* is suggested by the phrase *orationes communes*. *Sen.* xv, 1 (Nolz, I, 260) makes clear that by *communes* he means those to be found in many libraries. Now in 1333 he discovered two new orations at Liège, one of

<sup>23</sup> *Sen.* xv, 1; Nolz, I, 260.

<sup>24</sup> *Epist.* II, 10; Nolz, I, 45, 223.



which was the *pro Archia*. As late as 1351 his Italian friends had failed to obtain this rare work, and he supplied them with copies (I, 221-222). It does not seem likely that he would group this speech with the *orationes communes*, no matter how late the list is. It would seem then that the list must antedate the discovery of this speech in 1333. The low place in the list occupied by Augustine favors this early date. The ascent of Mt. Ventoux, with which is associated Petrarch's esteem of the *Confessions*, as stated above, did not take place until 1336. There is no reason to suppose that the works listed by Petrarch were not in his hands by 1333. He had several works of Cicero, including the *Tusculans* and one or more rhetorical works, saved from the flames, as was his Virgil. He had another copy of Virgil by 1326 (the Ambrosian manuscript). This also contained Statius' *Achilleid* and four odes of Horace, though the book was not in his hands in 1333. He probably had a complete manuscript of Horace, for he read the *Epistles* as a boy. He also had Priscian at the same age. He purchased the *de Civitate Dei* in 1325. In his copy of Livy he wrote: *emptus Aviniono 1351, diu tamen ante possessus*. If Nohac (II, 20) is right, as he probably is, in concluding that this manuscript came from Raimondo Soranzo, Petrarch may have had the use of it since about 1331. A letter of his to Soranzo dates from that year (*Fam.* I, 2). The manuscript contains also Dictys and Florus. But Petrarch read Florus before Livy (II, 35), probably in another manuscript, as the two we have show too few traces of Petrarch's reading. At least part of Ovid's work was known to Petrarch in boyhood. He appears to have obtained a copy of Augustine's *Confessions* in 1333 (I, 39). There is no reason to think that the other works in the list were not in Petrarch's hands in 1333. The date 1333 is then the most likely for our list, though we must recognize the possibility of a date as late as 1343.

The omissions from the list are due in part to lack of interest in the books, in part to lack of possession at the time. In the

former class is Isidorus, which he owned in his youth. The book, still extant, has few annotations. Petrarch rarely cites Isidorus in his own writings (II, 209) and has little use for him. Dictys may also be in this class, as this work is found in the Livy manuscript. If Sabbadini (*op. cit.*, p. 376) is right in thinking that before Petrarch obtained the Troyes manuscript he owned Vat. 2193, this manuscript may have been in Petrarch's hands when the list was made. It contains, besides Cicero, Apuleius, Palladius, Frontinus, and Vegetius, none of whom is mentioned in the list. Of these only Apuleius receives more than passing notice in Petrarch's books and notes. Even Apuleius is mentioned in *Fam.* XXII, 2, as we saw above, as one of the writers at whom he merely glances: he is therefore one of the *reliquos* of our list. Possibly Propertius too is in this class: we know that Petrarch owned a manuscript but he rarely quotes from it. His manuscript was a copy of the one now in Leyden, then in France, as I have shown.<sup>25</sup> It is most probable that he obtained this copy in 1333, during his travels through France. Sabbadini (*op. cit.*, p. 380) has pointed out that Petrarch did a great deal of notable collecting on French soil. The Propertius should be added to the list. During the Middle Ages France was perhaps a greater storehouse of classical treasures than Italy itself. It would be idle to speculate what Petrarch would have been if his father had not taken him to France. At any rate it seems certain that the advantage of long periods of residence and travel in both France and Italy had much to do with giving him the commanding place which he held in the humanistic movement.

Among the writers whose works Petrarch obtained later are Pliny (1350), Quintilian (1350), Plautus (about 1350), Catullus (1345 or later), Nonius Marcellus (after 1350). There is uncertainty about the time when Petrarch obtained Terence, Persius, Caesar, Curtius Rufus, all of which he had.

<sup>25</sup> *Class. Phil.* VI, 282 ff.; accepted by Hosius in the second edition of the Teubner Propertius.



We can no longer argue from the absence of certain authors from the list that Petrarch did not have their works until after 1337 or 1338. Sabbadini (*op. cit.*, p. 371) thinks that Claudian and Terence came into Petrarch's hands after 1338, the date he assigns to the list, in which these authors do not appear. We can not now accept this argument—as to the fact, we simply must say “non liquet.”

Since, then, our list is a select and not a complete list of the young Petrarch's books, we can not draw the important inference that those books which are not mentioned did not come into his hands until a later period and hence did not have any influence on the development of the first humanist. To be sure, absence from the list would indicate relatively slight influence in any case. Nor can we say that Petrarch's first library was a small one, not larger than that of some of his contemporaries, such as Jeremy of Montagnone.<sup>26</sup> He must have possessed scores of other books, which he read as most of us read books, rapidly and once only. But the books in the select list are those which Petrarch read again and again and which remained his favorites throughout his life. He was no mere book collector, nor was he an ordinary reader of the books he so eagerly gathered about him. Perhaps the secret of his humanism may be found in the fact that he read over and over again with intense zest these few favorite books.

<sup>26</sup> Sabbadini, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

III.—*The Influence of the Saviour Sentiment upon Virgil*

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Among the diverse features of Messianic literature as exemplified in the New Testament may be mentioned the following:

1. The expectation of the birth of a divine child.
2. The child shall be born in a specified family.
3. He shall grow up and overcome his enemies, establish an everlasting kingdom, and bring peace and plenty to the earth.
4. A star is associated with this saviour.

All of these features, it may be observed, are to be recognized in the fourth and ninth Eclogues, but to take the last first, Homeric fashion, we begin with the star. In the ninth Eclogue we read of the star of Dionaeon Caesar, which, though the specific reference is to the comet of Julius, is here associated with a number of Messianic elements:

Daphnis, why lift your eyes to the risings of ancient signs? The star of Dionaeon Caesar has appeared, whereat the sown fields should abound in grain and the grapes grow purple on the sun-bathed hills. Daphnis, graft your pears; your descendants shall gather the fruit.

In this passage may be noted the implication of the fulfilment of a prophecy, the advent of peace and plenty and the continuance of the new order of things. Yet for the moment we are chiefly interested in the implication of a divine mother, Venus, the divine descendant, Caesar, and the star as the sign of this saviour. Fortunately we are able to state that the association did not begin with Virgil nor with the comet of Julius. Servius, in a note to *Aeneid*, II, 801, declares that according to Varro the star Lucifer, which is Venus, appeared continually to Aeneas until he reached the Laurentine land,



when it ceased to be seen. Moreover, Servius carries this back to the words of Venus, II, 620: "nusquam abero," 'I shall nowhere forsake thee.' In lines 689-691 of the same book Anchises prays to Jupiter for a sign and is answered by a peal of thunder on the left and by the meteoric star that buried itself in the region of Mt. Ida, whereupon he prays again:

Di patrii, servate domum, servate nepotem.

Here again we find the implication of a divine family, a divine offspring, and the star associated with salvation.

Moreover, on the following morning the star Lucifer makes its appearance over the summit of Mt. Ida, whereupon Aeneas takes his aged sire upon his shoulder and makes his way thither, which calls forth the note of Servius above mentioned. He also prefers to interpret the word *iubar*, which occurs only in the phrase *iubare exorto*, *Aen.* IV, 130, as denoting Lucifer, which is the only star that emits beams, and quotes VIII, 590: "quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes." It may be noted that the elder Pliny, *H.N.* II, 36, also reminds us that Lucifer is the star of Venus, a fact we cannot afford to overlook.

In the fifth book of the *Aeneid* the significance of the burning arrow of Acestes is, of course, disputed, but if the meteor of the second book fulfils the promise of Venus to be with Aeneas in all places, and if the star Lucifer, preferred of her, guides the hero to Mt. Ida as a place of refuge, and if the star of Dionaeon Caesar in the ninth Eclogue suggests the agency of Jupiter and Venus receiving their descendant among the gods, and if Augustus, rejecting other interpretations of the comet of Julius, insisted upon regarding it as the token of his adoptive father's divinity,<sup>1</sup> what explanation of this arrow is so satisfactory as the assumption that it denotes the apotheosis of Anchises? If this is not a sign of the usual kind from Venus why in the sequel should Aeneas found the temple to her upon Mt. Eryx and consecrate a grove and tumulus

<sup>1</sup> *Ecl.* 9, 47; Pliny, *H.N.* II, 94.

hardby to Anchises, and appoint a flamen? These games of the fifth book seem analogous to the games in honor of Julius in 44 B. C., Venus Erycina seems analogous to Venus Genetrix, the burning arrow to the comet of Julius, the tumulus and flamen of Anchises to the fastigium and flamen of Julius,<sup>2</sup> and Aeneas, son of Anchises, to Octavianus, son of Julius. However, we return to this again.

Leaving for the moment the star of Venus as a guiding sign or an omen of apotheosis, we may recognize in the star on the helmet of Augustus in the shield of Aeneas the symbol of salvation. Certainly we have a right to interpret this image in its setting, and what do we find depicted upon the shield? It is a list of those who would have destroyed Rome, the treacherous Alban Mettus, Tarquin and Porsena, the invading Gauls, Catiline, and, climax of traitors, Marcus Antonius with his Egyptian bride and all the outlandish gods; opposed to these are Tullus Hostilius, Horatius and Cloelia, even the geese that saved the Capitol, Cato the Wise, and lastly Augustus and his star. Virgil in his major works is never didactic; he never buttonholes his reader to compel a better understanding; he leaves his images to speak for themselves, and when he tells us that Aeneas, receiving the gift of the shield, takes upon his shoulders the fate and the fortune of posterity, we must draw our own inferences. Rome had been saved again and again, but the greatest of all saviours were the Aeneadae. The star of Dionaeon Caesar had appeared.

The second element that we note in the Messianic sentiment is the belief in a divine family. This conception, of course, was prevalent in Rome quite apart from any notions imported from the Orient. Antony, for example, claimed to be descended from Anton, son of Hercules,<sup>3</sup> and various Roman families feigned descent from different Trojan stocks,<sup>4</sup> which might happen to be divine. Consequently, in the fourth

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Phil.* II, 43, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Antonius*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Aen.* v, 114 ff.



Eclogue there is nothing particularly startling in the assumption of the existence of a divine family and a divine child. It is the extraordinary loftiness of tone, the exotic splendor of apocalyptic imagery, and the abhorrent implications of his thesis as bearing upon Roman politics that occasion amazement. He was an Augustan before his time, and quite properly so. How better could he prove his title to the name of poet and prophet than by anticipating the slow march of events and by outstripping with his swift insight the passive judgment of the common run of mankind? He was not unaware that he had spoken too boldly and too soon, and for many long years afterward he subdued his enthusiasm. Even after Actium, when Octavianus had succeeded in putting all his enemies under his feet, and the star of Dionaeon Caesar was visible to all eyes, he was not yet prepared to reissue the Messianic eclogue in a new and revised and enlarged edition. Dutifully he essayed to write an epic based upon scanty tradition and the prosaic desires of his imperial patron. Yet he found that he could no more write a conventional epic for Caesar than he could write conventional bucolics for Pollio or a conventional didactic poem upon agriculture for Maecenas. The latent Messianic influence becomes at last again dominant and in three carefully revised books, second, fifth, and sixth, the traces of its presence are most palpable. Witness the separate consecration of each member of the divine family, Ascanius, Anchises, and Aeneas.

From an artistic point of view one of the finer dramatic passages of the *Aeneid* is to be found in the second book where the divine family is brought together. In the midst of the flaming city, after the royal household itself has fallen a prey to fire and sword, stands a single untouched dwelling. Arriving there under the safe conduct of his divine mother, the pious hero receives the announcement that a mysterious sacredness attaches itself to his family: "Behold, from the head of Iulus a slender tip of flame was seen to play and harmlessly to lap his tender curls and stray about his temples."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Aen.* II, 679 ff.

That this phenomenon harks back to the legend of Servius Tullius no one will fail to recall.<sup>6</sup> Virgil's fundamental ideas have not changed but he has grown wise. The exceptional destiny of the child must be declared by some convincing omen, but in place of the exotic imagery of the fourth Eclogue he has revived a native superstition of Roman tradition. He understood his own generation, and realized that, if it did not demand signs, it at least enjoyed them, but he had learned to compromise between the old and the new.

It may be noted in this connection that this particular element of the Messianic sentiment, the divine child in the divine family, is the weightiest argument against recognizing in the fourth Eclogue the child of Pollio. All Romans were aware that saviours were born only in specified families, and one need only recall the murder of Julius to be reminded how this unwelcome function was thrust upon Brutus, the descendant of the first consul. One will recall the false Marius who appeared a second time in Rome after the death of Julius.<sup>7</sup> The senate put him out of the way, and later Octavianus took the usual dynastic precautions against the son of Julius and Cleopatra and the son of Antony and Fulvia.<sup>8</sup> Of this natural faith in heredity or fear of hereditary pretensions, as the case may be, the Messianic note is only the religious consecration. It is the Oriental phase of a feeling latent in our imaginations today and at all times, but amid the protracted disorders of the last century of the Roman republic the imported sanction of religion struck an answering chord in the popular imagination, and it was a veritable stroke of genius that Virgil should seize upon it for the enrichment of his inventions, fusing it superbly with native preconceptions of less imaginative potentiality.

To come now to Anchises, it is agreed that in the first draft of the *Aeneid* he received rather short shrift. In his own mind he was convinced that Jupiter's favor had been

<sup>6</sup> Livy, I, 39.

<sup>7</sup> Val. Max. ix, 15, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Suet. Aug. 17.



forfeited, and having been once struck by the thunderbolt<sup>9</sup> he may have been justified in this opinion. Older versions of the wanderings had brought him safely all the way to the Laurentine land,<sup>10</sup> but the Dido episode, both for the sake of the romantic interest and because of its fine, secondary, historical significances, had been adopted as an indispensable part of the poem, and as a consequence it seemed best to make the first visit in Sicily the occasion of the death of Anchises. This invention possessed manifest advantages: Sicily had figured as a land of sojourn in the pilgrimage to Italy and the funeral games of Anchises were adapted to give body to the narrative. Yet in the long run the progenitor of the Aeneadae could not be so cavalierly handled. Consequently the book was rewritten and comes down to us polished in diction but not quite consistent either with its antecedents or its sequels.

By what steps the idea of exalting the neglected Anchises worked itself out may be seen by a comparison of books three and six. According to the predictions of Helenus it was to be the Sibyl's mission to tell Aeneas of the wars he should wage and to recite the catalogue of Italian tribes.<sup>11</sup> This catalogue, in the *Aeneid* as we possess it, is relegated to the seventh book with a new and separate invocation to the muses, and in its room is substituted a list of the makers of Rome and the praise of Marcellus, all from the lips of Anchises. Moreover, it is at the behest of Anchises, received in the fifth book (731 ff.), that Aeneas visits the Sibyl, the instructions of Helenus being as good as forgotten. Now, if the hero's father is to perform this conspicuous rôle in Elysium it is obvious that some adequate reason must be found for there introducing him. Hence the omens of deification in the fifth, and the visit of the shade of the deified parent to instruct the son concerning his visit to Avernus. Incidentally the funeral games are changed to a celebration of the ceremony

<sup>9</sup> *Aen.* II, 647-649.

<sup>10</sup> *Serv. ad Aen.* III, 711.

<sup>11</sup> *Aen.* III, 458.

of *parentatio*. Thus the new fifth book was necessitated by the new sixth and the new sixth was the result of the desire to exalt each member of the divine family, and in particular to find a becoming rôle for the aged Anchises.

To exalt Aeneas was a quite different and distinctly more difficult task. The regal destiny of the child Ascanius was denoted once and for all by a single supernatural phenomenon; the aged Anchises was ennobled after death by apotheosis and by appointment to the rôle of teacher and prophet in Elysian fields. Upon Aeneas, however, he must bestow some loftiness of character, some deep, convincing experience. Warde Fowler and, long before him, Warburton were of the opinion that the descent into the lower world was a sort of initiation into mysteries and so accomplished a religious purpose.<sup>12</sup> Yet Helenus had made no mention of such a revelation and spoke only of future wars and the races of Italy, neither of which are treated in the sixth book. Therefore, in the first draft we should probably have found no mysteries of a religious character and consequently no real initiation and nothing adapted to profoundly stimulate the latent resolution of the hero.

What we have before us, apparently, is one more evidence of a great change of plan on Virgil's part. Formerly we were of the opinion that this change was gradual, but the study of the minor poems along with the *Eclogues* has revealed the fact that Virgil's growth and development took place by a series of revolutionary advances separated by intervals of intense study and reflection. Having given himself for a number of years with all his heart and mind to forensic pursuits he next turned with the same entirety of self to Epicureanism and sceptical intellectualism;<sup>13</sup> driven from this position by the shock of personal and public calamities he found himself being swept along by a cosmic movement of

<sup>12</sup> *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 419. Warburton's essay is printed in Warton's *Virgil*, III, Introd. pp. 1-76, London, 1753.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalepton*, v, and *Aetna*.



the most visionary and unphilosophical content,<sup>14</sup> yet full of ethical implications of the profoundest poetical significance. Checked and chastened by the audacity of this flight, to which he alludes in the postscript of the *Georgics*, he settles down to the composition of a long didactic work and ten years later in the same subdued condition of mind he undertakes a great epic poem that should be based upon the cold, unethical, enigmatical oracles of Apollo and the slender, niggardly incidents of the Greek tradition of the wanderings.

From the very first he realized that meagre legends must be ennobled and embellished by epic pageantry and lofty historical romance, but these inspirations yielded but two good books out of six. A dainty scene of tragic pathos in the third book could not redeem the leanness of its narrative nor overshadow the malignant predictions of Celaeno nor mask the insignificance of Helenus as a prophet. The funeral games of Anchises, necessarily consigned to the shades before the Carthaginian misadventure, left the fifth book a charmless emulation of Homer. The aetiological tale of Palinurus, originally an incident of the voyage from Carthage, the intimation of horrid wars and the catalogue of Italic tribes, the original content of the sixth book, must have driven Virgil to the conclusion that he was beside himself when he undertook the task. Thereupon he gave way to one of those impulses that mark the stages of his development. He scrapped the Apolline tradition, which he had adopted in deference to Augustus, and fell back upon the abandoned Messianic sentiment with all its opulent, ethical implications, the divine family, the deified ancestor, the goddess mother with her guiding star, the doctrine of immortality, and the moral obligations of empire.

It was Virgil's original hope to adorn his work with horrors and marvels. A sample of the former is the incident of Achemenides in the last part of the third book, a faint Homeric echo, nothing worth. Similar is the adventure with the Harp-

<sup>14</sup> *Ecl.* 4.

ies, which is more shocking than convincing. The prophecy of Celaeno that the Trojans should consume their tables was fulfilled in the narrative of the seventh book when they devoured the bread upon which their meats had been served,<sup>15</sup> but the effect is neither horrifying nor astonishing and we are reminded of the paltriness of the material that Virgil was finding available in the native traditions. The prediction of Helenus that Aeneas should find a swine with thirty farrow was fulfilled in the eighth book,<sup>16</sup> but does it not rather mar the solemnity of the recital when we read in Varro that the remains of this identical animal were preserved in brine at Lanuvium to exhibit to tourists?<sup>17</sup> It seems also to have been part of the original plan of Virgil that the cavern of Cumae should be a chamber of horrors and the raving Sibyl should a tale unfold whose slightest word would harrow up our souls, but in our version of the book the priestess is deposed as a prophetess and her projected tale of wars and woes is postponed to make room for the roll call of the Eternal City. Of a hundred tongues and a voice of iron there is no need; the impressive truth falls quietly from the interested lips of Anchises.

Once Virgil had made up his mind that nothing lofty or impressive could be made of the screams of Celaeno, the enigmas of Helenus, or the insane mutterings of the dishevelled Sibyl, and had turned to the richer contemporary legends of the divine mother of the Aeneadae with its easy Messianic affiliations, he found the exaltation of his pious hero to be substantially facilitated. The annunciation scene in the second book, as we have remarked, is both dignified and dramatic; the adventure in Carthage now takes on an ethical character; with the new fifth book and the reconciliation of Aeneas and Anchises we have discovered an integral rôle for the progenitor of the Aeneadae in the chain of revelation; in

<sup>15</sup> *Aen.* III, 255-257; VII, 112-116.

<sup>16</sup> III, 389-393; VIII, 81-85.

<sup>17</sup> *R. R.* II, 4, 18.



the new sixth book is evolved a genuine initiation and a contemporary touch without sacrifice of loftiness. Yet the education of the hero is not here complete; he must still visit the site of the future city and hear the blare of trumpets and the clash of arms in the sky, the omen of his acceptability as the foreign leader (VIII, 520-536). Last of all, he must receive the gift of Venus, the shield emblazoned with parallel lists of the destroyers and the saviours of Rome, and take upon his shoulders the fate and the fortune of posterity.

The climax of the influence of apocalyptic literature, of which the Messianic sentiment is the central feature, is, of course, the prophecy of Jupiter in the first book (254-296), and this exemplifies the skill of Virgil in bringing together coincident elements of local and foreign traditions. For instance, when we read that Aeneas shall wage war for three years, the kingdom have its seat in Lavinium for thirty years and in Alba for three hundred, we must remember the mystic significance of perfect numbers in all apocalyptic writings. When we read that a beauteous offspring shall be born of Trojan seed we must recall the universal expectation of the divine child. When we read that war shall be no more and the cruel generations shall grow mild, we must recall that the meek shall inherit the earth. When we read that the kingdom of Caesar shall be bounded by the ocean we must recall that his dominion shall stretch from sea to sea. In the music of Virgil's verse there is always melody and often this exquisite accompaniment of the principal theme, tones and overtones, depths and second depths. Above all things he loves the puzzling strain of fugitive allusiveness.

This sketch of the influence of the Messianic sentiment upon Virgil would not be complete without a glance at other sources of information. Fortunately it is possible to state with some positiveness just when these Oriental notions for the first time captivated the imagination of Rome, for Suetonius, who makes no reference to them in his life of Julius, has left us three pages of references to apocalyptic literature that gathered



about the person of Augustus.<sup>18</sup> Passing over miracles of his childhood we mention first, recalling the slaughter of the innocents by Herod, that the senate is said to have passed a decree that all children born in the year 63 should be put to death. This was because of a prodigy occurring a few months before and is related upon the authority of Julius Marathus, a Greek, of course. Second, Suetonius read in the *Theologumena* of Asclepias, who hailed from Mendes in lower Egypt, that Octavius was not the son of his reputed father but of Apollo himself. Third, it is recorded that men of no less eminence than Quintus Catulus and Cicero himself received divine intimations of the greatness of the child Octavius. Into the same cycle of recognition prodigies is introduced the authority of Publius Nigidius, who ranked second only to Varro in knowledge of matters divine. These foreign apocryphal writers certainly worked with a consistent method.

It would be fascinating to know the views of Augustus himself upon this question. The elder Pliny, who frankly declares his personal opinion that the comet of Julius portended salvation to the world, informs us that Augustus, while quite content to have the people believe that the comet signified the reception of his parent among the gods, in private held to the idea that Julius was self-begotten and that he, Augustus, was born in him.<sup>19</sup> Without inquiring into the meaning of these mystical phrases we might ask ourselves what he revealed by his policy and conduct. In the year 40 the *Eclogues* elicited from him for Virgil no poetical commission whatever and during the following decade it was Maecenas who encouraged and subsidized the poets. Even after Actium Caesar was slow to recognize the value of literary assistance. It may have been that he was extremely cautious but we are just as much inclined to infer that he was unimaginative. In the year 27 he accepted the title of *Augustus*, which was simply the Latin for *Christus* or 'the ordained one,' but he did not seem to

<sup>18</sup> *Aug.* 94-96.

<sup>19</sup> *H. N.* II, 94.



realize its implications as a denotation of office. He proceeded to base his power upon the consulship and it was not until the year 23 that he seized upon the sacred character of the tribunate as the outward symbol of his real rôle.

Moreover, the well-authenticated fact that in 27 he hesitated between republican and monarchical tendencies proves beyond any doubt that his well-known anxiety to establish a permanent dynasty arose in his mind at a somewhat later date. As a matter of fact this passion seems to have taken possession of him only after the death of Marcellus in the year 23, and this happens to coincide with the moment of adopting the tribunician power and also with the last recorded recital of the *Aeneid*. Thus we infer that Virgil was an Augustan long before his time; but in the end he really became the leader and teacher of his master. The principate, in other words, was Virgil's discovery in so far as he anticipated his chief in interpreting the spirit of the times and rendered this new conception palatable to Roman minds by fusing it with native traditions. Not until both poet and princeps had fallen into the sleep that knows no waking did the Messianic sentiment come to its full imaginative fruition and Rome adopt the name of the Eternal City.

IV.—*Harmony and Clash of Accent and Ictus in the Latin Hexameter*

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In a series of articles published during the last few years I have been examining the syllabic and accentual basis of Greek and Latin verse.<sup>1</sup> Since the present paper is an attempt to apply some of the conclusions reached in the earlier articles, it seems best to summarize them briefly.

In general it is only sensations that are arranged in rhythmic series—not moments when sensation is absent: we hear the ticks of a clock and note the regular intervals between the ticks. Just so a rhythmic series of syllables consists of points of increased sensation—namely the vowels—and regular intervals between the vowels. Syllabic quantity is to be measured from the beginning of one vowel to the beginning of the next. When syllables are grouped to form a secondary rhythm composed of feet or metra this is done by an increase in the intensity of certain vowels. In other words, the intervals in secondary rhythm—the rhythm of feet—lie between stressed vowels or ictuses. Ancient verse proves to be accentual as well as quantitative, just as modern European verse is undoubtedly quantitative as well as accentual.

Since word-ends within the phrase are not perceptible, the doctrine of caesura, as far as it applies to such word-ends, is a figment of the imagination. The Greek poets did, however, have a well-developed technique of sense-pauses, and a part of this was retained by the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Phil.* xiv, 234–244, 373–385; *A. J. P.* xlii, 289–308, xlii, 319–338, *T. A. P. A.* lii, 5–15, liii, 35–51. Many of the important conclusions in these articles have been reached independently and supported by clear and cogent argument by William Thomson, *The Rhythm of Speech*, Glasgow, 1923. The attentive reader will find further confirmation in an article by Kurt Witte on “Der Hexameter des Ennius” in *Rh. Mus.* xlix, 205–232, although Witte operates with the traditional conception of audible word-ends and a caesura (or two) near the middle of the verse.



The Greek accent was a matter of pitch, but the Latin accent involved a considerable degree of stress. The ictus of Greek verse therefore did not cause any conflict with the accent, but when the Greek measures were used for Latin verse it was important to arrange the phraseology so that the ictus should fall upon accented vowels. Plautus and Terence accomplished this fairly well for the most part, except in the iambic close, where the ictus, which was the weaker one in its dipody, was probably neglected.

In the dactylic hexameter it was impossible to secure a very high proportion of harmony between accent and ictus, for the reason that many words can be fitted into that verse only with an ictus upon an unaccented syllable (*e.g.*, *deos, studiis, impulerit*). The best the poets could do was to secure nearly perfect harmony at the close of the verse, either by relegating the words which require clash to the earlier part of the line or by using synonyms of more satisfactory rhythmic character. They thereupon made a virtue of necessity and actually preferred clash in the earlier part of the verse, in order to give their poetry the air of aloofness from common speech which was traditional in heroic verse.

Under these circumstances we should expect a pretty definite technique in regard to harmony and clash of accent and ictus. The purpose of this paper is to search for such a technique; but before we go any further we must notice a dissenting opinion which, if true, would almost certainly doom our efforts to failure.

Following in the footsteps of Professor Abbott (*Class. Phil.* II, 444-460), Professor Kent (*T. A. P. A.* LI, 19-29, LIII, 63-72) holds that while popular Latin had a stress accent, the accent of literary Latin of the classical period consisted chiefly of variations in pitch. This theory was based by its author (and Professor Kent—*T. A. P. A.* LIII, 72—rests his case upon the evidence which Professor Abbott adduced) upon the following observations: (1) The Romans describe the accent of literary Latin as a matter of pitch, while the

Latin language in the early period and as used by the common people of classical times shows the effects of a stress accent. (2) Distinctions of quantity are more regularly observed in literary Latin than in some languages with a stress accent. (3) There is frequent clash of accent and ictus in classical Latin verse.

The second consideration is scarcely valid evidence. It is true that a stress accent tends gradually to break down quantitative distinctions, but the process is slow. No one doubts that Anglo-Saxon had at the same time a stress accent and fairly clear distinctions of quantity. Even in Modern English there is far more of quantity than many realize. Long unaccented syllables are not rare (*e.g.* *āustére*), and we may even follow a long unaccented syllable by a short accented syllable, as in *āustérité*. Furthermore, quantitative distinctions were well maintained in colloquial Latin, as I have shown (*T. A. P. A.* LII, 8); if quantity indicates lack of stress in literary Latin, it does so also in colloquial Latin, and so the distinction which we are asked to make vanishes in any case.

The argument from the contrast between the ancient description of the accent as pitch and the traces of stress in Latin grammar is fully answered, it seems to me, by the proposal of a satisfactory alternative explanation. No one has yet named in print an objection to my contention that the Latin accent must have involved both pitch and stress; the Romans, under the tutelage of their Greek teachers, detected the pitch, and we can infer the stress from its characteristic effects. Both pitch and stress are usually present in the accent of a language, and in Latin they were both relatively strong. This more plausible explanation of the observed facts removes the need for Professor Abbott's theory.

Just so the existence of clash of accent and ictus in the hexameter is adequately explained by the impossibility of composing hexameters without clash. Professor Kent is forced (*T. A. P. A.* LIII, 70) to accept this explanation for Ennius; it will work as well for Vergil.



My proof that the accent of literary Latin involved stress is based upon the evidence for the manipulation of accent and ictus in classical Latin verse. As I showed in *Class. Phil.* XIV, 373-385, harmony is more common in the last two feet of the hexameter and less common in the first four feet than the structure of the verse tends to make it. That is, the Roman poets tried to secure harmony in the latter part of the line and to avoid it in the earlier part. Furthermore their effort became stronger, or at least more successful, after Ennius. Professor Kent admits manipulation of the accent by Ennius, but he explains Vergil's increase in harmony at the end of the line by ascribing it to dislike of ending a line with a monosyllable, a word of the rhythm  $\cup \cup - \bar{\cup}$  or a combination of two words such as  $\cup \cup | - \bar{\cup}$  or  $- | - \bar{\cup}$ .<sup>2</sup> He should have included in his list words of the type  $- - \bar{\cup}$ , and the combination  $\cup | \cup - \bar{\cup}$ , which also involve conflict in the fifth foot. But why did Vergil avoid these verse closes which involve clash? The whole point rests precisely in the answer to this question, and the only answer that Professor Kent gives is the suggestion that the Romans developed a regular pitch tune at the end of the line. Although the Greek pitch accent had no affinity for the ictus, we are asked to believe that Roman poets worked out this refinement with their pitch accent, which was, so Professor Kent holds, only an echo of the Greek accent. It is much more likely that the educated Romans continued to use the Latin accent, and that they modified the Greek measures only in the effort to make them fit the Latin language. We may safely conclude that the reason why the hexameter poets increasingly avoided the five verse endings which produce clash in the last two feet was that they desired harmony at that point. No other plausible reason for such avoidance suggests itself.

The following pages bring evidence of a somewhat detailed technique in the manipulation of accent and ictus in the Latin

<sup>2</sup> In the seventh line on page 71 we must read "one long syllable" instead of "one short syllable."



hexameter, and all of this is additional evidence that both the ictus and the Latin accent involved stress. I hope soon to treat other types of Latin poetry from the same point of view and thereby to strengthen the case still further.

Unfortunately full statistics on Latin accent are beyond our reach. We have but little knowledge of the sentence accent and less of the secondary accent of long words. We know that certain phrases, such as *virumque* and *secum*, were accented according to the penultima law as if they were single words, but we do not know how far this method of accentuation extended. We do not know, for example, whether to accent the phrases *sunt mihi* and *trans mare* on the first syllable or on the second. There is a plausible theory that such a word as *tempestatum* had a secondary accent on the first syllable. On which syllable shall we assume a secondary accent in *tempestatumque*? Was there a secondary accent on the first syllable of *inferretque*, or of *Ganymedis* and *inhumati*? Did the secondary accent rest on the first or the second syllable of *corripuere* and *ambrosiaequae*? At least for the present we must ignore sentence accent, except for phrases with the well-known enclitics and cases of 'prodelision' such as *datust* and *decorist*, and we must also omit all consideration of the secondary accent of long words; in short, we must confine our attention to the main accent of polysyllables.<sup>3</sup> Under these circumstances we cannot very well base our statistics upon a study of whole verses, since most verses contain either a monosyllable or a long word which probably had a secondary accent.

A more satisfactory unit is the word, and, accordingly, the two columns of figures in Table I (p. 57) show for each pas-

<sup>3</sup> The phrase 'harmony of accent and ictus' means in this paper the incidence of a main word-accent and a verse ictus upon the same syllable. The phrase 'clash of accent and ictus' means the incidence of an ictus upon any syllable of a polysyllable which did not carry either a main or a secondary word-accent. It is assumed that, within the limits of a word, the syllable or syllables following the main accent and the syllable immediately preceding the main accent were unaccented.



sage studied what per cent of all polysyllables bearing an ictus have the ictus on the accented syllable. The first column shows the per cent of harmony in the first four feet and the second column the per cent of harmony in the fifth and sixth feet. All words that extend into the latter part of the verse by even a single syllable are reckoned with that part. No account is taken of monosyllables or of dissyllables and trisyllables so placed that no ictus falls upon them. It is assumed that the penultima law applies to *armaque, tenebrae, illic*, and the like. I hope at an early day to present evidence that these accentuations were in fact usual; but if any reader is disposed to doubt, I will ask him to remember that words of these types are so few that they do not materially affect the totals. It is further assumed that Greek words and names were accented by the Roman poets according to the Latin rule.

Our study has included thirteen authors. We have examined all the extant complete hexameters of Ennius and Lucilius, and all of Catullus, 64. For Cicero the figures in Table I are based upon 400 lines of the *Aratea* and those in Table III upon 404 lines of various translations from the Greek, including over 300 lines of the *Aratea*. From a number of poets we have studied two or more passages, in order to discover how much variation is to be expected within the works of a single writer. These passages, and also those from Persius and Silius Italicus, are approximately 400 lines long, except that 500 lines of Ovid, *Met.* vii, are included, while the two passages from Juvenal are both shorter than 400 lines. They are all taken from the beginning of the books indicated in Table I.

While, as I have shown in *Class. Phil.* xiv, 373-385, Ennius made a distinct effort to secure harmony of accent and ictus in the last two feet of his hexameters, his success was only moderate. The figures in Table I show very clearly the gradual improvement in technique from Ennius to Vergil. Lucilius reduced the exceptions to the rule of harmony in

TABLE I

*Proportion of words bearing ictus which show harmony*

	Feet I-IV	V-VI		Feet I-IV	V-VI
Ennius . . . . .	41.2	92.8	Ovid, <i>Met.</i> I . . . . .	41.6	99.6
Lucilius . . . . .	42.9	95.9	VII . . . . .	40.5	99.7
Catullus, 64 . . . . .	41.5	98.6	VIII . . . . .	39.4	99.4
Lucretius, I . . . . .	38.4	97.9	XV . . . . .	41.2	99.7
VI . . . . .	38.0	97.5	Lucan, I . . . . .	38.2	100.0
Cicero . . . . .	34.3	98.6	X . . . . .	36.9	99.2
Vergil, <i>Ecl.</i> 1-4 . . . . .	34.9	99.8	Persius, 1-5 . . . . .	46.4	98.1
<i>Georg.</i> I . . . . .	35.3	99.2	Juvenal, 3 . . . . .	35.4	97.7
<i>Aen.</i> I . . . . .	35.1	99.1	14 . . . . .	35.0	97.7
VII . . . . .	37.9	99.5	Statius, <i>Theb.</i> I . . . . .	39.7	99.6
VIII . . . . .	39.4	99.4	VII . . . . .	41.5	99.7
XII . . . . .	35.3	99.8	<i>Silvae</i> , I . . . . .	37.2	100.0
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> I . . . . .	35.7	93.5	Silius Italicus, I . . . . .	34.6	99.7
II . . . . .	36.1	94.5			
<i>Ep.</i> I . . . . .	37.7	97.1			

the last two feet from 7.2 per cent to 4.1 per cent; the poets of the Ciceronian age show a further reduction to about 1.8 per cent; and Vergil allows less than one per cent of exceptions. Vergil's practice is followed by all of the later poets studied, except the three satirists. Horace seems at first to have followed Lucilius' practice rather closely, but his later work came much nearer to the usage of his contemporaries. Persius and Juvenal differ little from the technique exhibited in Horace's *Epistles*.

In the first four feet harmony tends to become less frequent after Lucilius, but the change is less striking and less consistent than in the last two feet. It is clear that we need more detail in order to discover a definite technique in the first four feet of the hexameter.

When we attempt to count word-accent and to assign them to definite feet, we are confronted with the necessity for making a number of arbitrary decisions. We decided above to assign to the latter part of the verse words whose ultima begins the fifth foot. Our decision is justified by the fact that we are going to supplement our statistics only for the first part of the line, so that Column II of Table I must include everything that has a bearing upon the fifth foot;



but similar arbitrary decisions in regard to each separate foot would deprive the figures of nearly all significance. In the first line of the *Aeneid*, *arma* belongs clearly to the first foot, but *virumque*, *cano*, and *Troiae* all extend across the boundary between two feet. A decision would be even more difficult and unsatisfactory in the case of words which carry more than one ictus.

TABLE II

*Proportion of ictus syllables of known accentual character which show harmony*

	Feet	I	II	III	IV
Ennius.....		67.8	25.4	15.2	39.0
Catullus, 64.....		65.8	14.0	9.3	67.0
Lucretius, I.....		63.0	23.5	12.4	44.4
Vergil, <i>Aen.</i> I.....		56.3	26.9	18.3	27.3
	VII.....	62.5	22.6	15.0	38.3
	XII.....	54.4	17.9	22.5	34.9
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> I.....		60.9	17.2	12.7	38.2
Ovid, <i>Met.</i> I.....		80.7	24.8	12.6	45.3

The only way, apparently, to avoid this difficulty is to count the incidences of the ictus which harmonize and those which clash with known accents in the several feet. It is necessary, of course, to disregard all feet whose ictus rests upon a syllable of unknown accentual character. Consequently Table II shows what percentage of all ictuses falling upon syllables of known accentual character fall upon accented syllables. For example, in Catullus, 64 the third ictus falls upon an accented syllable 37 times, and upon an unaccented syllable 362 times, while the accentuation is unknown in this part of the remaining 9 lines; 37 is 9.3 per cent of the sum of 37 plus 362, or 399.

Some striking facts appear from the few figures in Table II. Harmony is least common, except in the third passage from Vergil, in the third foot, and next in order comes the second foot. Harmony is somewhat more common in the fourth foot than in the second, and in the first foot it is more common than clash. Table I shows that it is used almost constantly in the fifth and sixth feet. If then we denote the six feet by Roman numerals and the five degrees of preference for har-

mony by Arabic numerals, we get the following curiously symmetrical diagram

2	4	5	3	<u>1</u>	
I	II	III	IV	V	VI

In the second place, it appears that Catullus undertook to extend the rule of harmony from the last two feet to the fourth foot. In order to accomplish this he crowded into the second and third feet as many as possible of the words which require clash, and this is one reason for his low proportion of harmony in those feet. Clash, however, was apparently desired for its own sake in that part of the verse.

It would be interesting to gather similar statistics from all the authors included in Table I, but they would not tell the whole story; for the use of harmony or clash in a particular foot depends largely upon the nature of the surrounding feet. A better plan would be to count instances of the sixteen possible sequences of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in the first four feet of the hexameter. Of course no line with one of the first four ictuses resting on a syllable of doubtful accentual character could be included in the count, and this would rule out 59 of the first 100 verses of the *Aeneid*. Of the 59 no less than 24 contain an ictus on a syllable of doubtful accent only in the first foot, so that the sequence of harmony and clash in the second, third, and fourth feet is clear in 65 of the first 100 lines. Furthermore Table II shows that the first foot differs from the three following feet in its prevailing character; while harmony is more frequent than clash in the first foot, clash is usually more frequent than harmony in the second, third, and fourth feet.

We have therefore counted the eight sequences possible in the second, third, and fourth feet, and the results appear in Table III (p. 60). The letters at the head of the columns indicate the eight sequences, the words 'harmony' and 'clash' being represented by their initial letters. The figures show what per cent of all lines whose second, third, and fourth



TABLE III

*Sequences of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in second, third, and fourth feet*

	<i>ccc</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>chc</i>	<i>hcc</i>	<i>hch</i>	<i>chh</i>	<i>hhc</i>	<i>hhh</i>	Doubtful
Ennius.....	39.0	29.0	7.5	10.1	7.8	2.0	2.9	2.0	28.0
Lucilius.....	37.1	26.3	8.4	9.4	7.5	4.2	3.3	3.8	43.7
Catullus, 64.....	25.9	51.6	6.3	4.8	9.2	1.6	.6		22.9
Lucretius, I.....	33.6	33.2	6.9	11.4	8.8	3.8	1.5	.8	34.5
VI.....	39.1	30.6	4.4	13.7	8.9	2.0	.4	.8	38.0
Cicero.....	40.0	39.6	1.8	10.2	4.9	3.2	.4		29.5
Vergil, <i>Ecl.</i> 1-5.....	41.3	20.3	14.9	14.5	6.5	1.1	1.1	.4	34.3
<i>Geor.</i> I.....	39.8	24.4	13.0	12.7	7.4	2.8			29.0
<i>Aen.</i> I.....	34.5	19.7	17.0	15.1	10.6	2.3	.8		34.0
VII.....	36.5	23.6	13.5	10.1	12.2	3.5	.7		28.0
VIII.....	40.1	23.6	14.6	10.9	8.2	1.9	.7		32.2
XII.....	33.3	21.0	22.5	10.1	8.0	4.0	1.1		33.5
Horace, <i>Sat.</i> I.....	41.0	32.5	8.1	9.4	5.6	2.1	1.3		40.5
II.....	43.9	30.2	6.6	7.9	8.3	3.1			44.0
<i>Ep.</i> I.....	36.8	32.0	9.3	9.8	9.8	2.0		.4	42.3
Ovid, <i>Met.</i> I.....	27.8	31.8	16.2	12.6	11.2	.4			30.7
VII.....	30.6	32.9	9.2	16.1	10.5	.8			21.6
VIII.....	31.9	30.5	14.6	13.9	8.8			.3	26.2
XV.....	29.8	29.4	18.1	11.3	11.0			.4	29.5
Lucan, I.....	30.6	28.6	17.7	12.2	10.3	.3	.3		23.8
X.....	31.6	20.4	26.0	11.2	10.9				15.2
Persius, 1-5.....	38.1	42.0	5.6	7.4	4.8	1.7	.4		43.5
Juvenal, 3.....	39.8	38.9	8.5	6.1	6.1	.5			34.5
14.....	35.6	32.0	13.1	7.2	9.5	2.7			33.0
Statius, <i>Theb.</i> I.....	26.6	26.9	27.3	10.6	6.5	2.0			26.7
VII.....	27.5	27.8	26.4	10.2	8.1				29.0
<i>Silvae</i> , I.....	36.1	20.0	28.1	8.1	7.4		.5		25.8
Silius Italicus, I.....	40.0	24.7	16.7	7.3	10.2	.4	.4	.4	31.2

ictuses rest on syllables of known accentual character have the sequence denoted at the top of the column. The ninth column indicates what per cent of all the lines studied had to be neglected because one ictus or more of these three falls on a syllable of doubtful accentuation.<sup>4</sup>

It may appear to some that the large proportion of doubtful lines introduces a serious element of uncertainty. It should be remembered, however, that Columns I-VIII in Table III are based solely upon lines in which the crucial accents are known, and consequently uncertainty has been eliminated from them. It is very probable that the unknown accents were managed in about the same way as the known accents, and, if so, our percentages hold approximately for the entire passages studied. We may nevertheless grant the possibility that the sentence accent and the secondary accent of long words, being more flexible and generally weaker than the main word-accent, were less carefully coördinated with the ictus. It still remains true that the main word-accent was managed about as our figures indicate. These statistics probably indicate the rhythmic tendencies of the entire passages studied, and, in any

For the sake of clearness it will be worth while to illustrate each of the sequences here treated. The first one, *ccc*, occurs in the following lines.

Vergil, *Aen.* i, 2:

Itáliam fáto prófugus Lavinaque venit <sup>5</sup>  
                   2          3          4

*Aen.* i, 13:

Karthago, Itáliam cóntra Tiberinaque longe  
                   2          3          4

*Aen.* i, 115:

in púppim férít; excútitur pronusque magister  
                   2          3          4

*Aen.* i, 251:

navibus (infándum) amíssis unius ob iram  
                   2          3          4

*Ecl.* 5, 38:

pro mólli víola, pro purpúreo narcisso  
                   2          3          4

To those schooled in the traditional doctrine of caesura, these five lines will seem very unlike in their second, third, and fourth feet. They are alike, however, in placing the ictus in those feet on unaccented syllables of words whose accented syllables have no ictus. The resultant false accentuation must have been a striking feature of the verse—much more striking, certainly, than the position of the word-ends, which was not perceptible by ear. A more reasonable exception might be taken to including *Aen.* i, 115 in the group, on the ground that the neglect of the accent of *ferit* amounts to an additional case of clash in this line as compared with the other three. To be sure, the first syllable of *ferit* was spoken in this verse with less stress than the final syllable of *puppim* or the initial

case, they are reliable and complete for verses of a clearly defined class—those, namely, in which the second, third, and fourth ictus falls upon a syllable which carries either a main accent or no accent at all.

<sup>5</sup> In this paper word-accent is denoted by the usual symbol and ictus by a small figure below the line—1 for the first ictus, 2 for the second, etc. This difference in notation does not indicate any difference in phonetic character. Both accent and ictus were stress, and, in case of clash, the accent was partially, if not wholly, suppressed in favor of the ictus. Evidence in support of this statement will be found in my article on “The Ictus of Classical Verse” (*A. J. P.* XLIV, 319 ff.).



of *excutitur*; but no doubt it received, as usual, more stress than the final syllable of the same word. If so, there was no clash in the word *ferit*, and we need have no hesitation in grouping this line with the other four.

Examples of the other seven sequences of harmony and clash in the second, third, and fourth feet are as follows:

*cch*: Vergil, *Aen.* I, 19:

progéníem sed énim Troiáno a sanguine duci  
                   2                  3                  4

*Aen.* I, 26:

excíderant ánimo; mánet álta mente repostum  
                   2                  3                  4

*Aen.* I, 44:

illum expirántem transfíxo pectore flammás  
                   2                  3                  4

*chc*: Vergil, *Aen.* I, 9:

quidve dólens regína déum tot volvere casus  
                   2                  3                  4

*Aen.* I, 57:

sceptra ténens mollítque ánimos et temperat iras  
                   2                  3                  4

Lucan, I, 244:

ut nótae fulsére áquilae Romanae signa  
                   2                  3                  4

I, 306:

in clássem cádít ómne némus; terraue marique  
                   2                  3                  4

Ovid, *Met.* I, 193:

fauníque satyríque et montícolae Silvani  
                   2                  3                  4

*hcc*: Vergil, *Aen.* I, 12:

urbs antíqua fúit (Týrii tenuere coloni)  
                   2                  3                  4

*Aen.* I, 125:

emissámque híemem sénsit Neptunus et imis  
                   2                  3                  4

*Aen.* I, 152:

conspexére, sílent arrectísque auribus astant  
                   2                  3                  4

*hch*: Vergil, *Aen.* I, 29:

his accénsa súper iactátos aequore toto  
                   2                  3                  4

*Ecl.* 2, 49:

tum casia átque áliis intéxens suavibus herbis  
                   2                  3                  4

*chh*: Vergil, *Aen.* I, 290:

accípies secúra; vocábitur hic quoque votis  
                   2                  3                  4

*hhc*: Vergil, *Aen.* i, 326:  
                  nulla tuárum audíta míhi neque visa sororum  
                                  2                  3                  4

*hhh*: Vergil, *Ecl.* 5, 52:  
                  Daphnim ad ástra ferémus; amávit nos quoque Daphnis  
                                  2                  3                  4

Table IV combines Tables I and III, the first two columns corresponding with Table I, and the others, in order, with Table III. Instead of separate figures for several passages from certain authors, Table IV gives the average usage of those authors. It includes an indication of the average usage of all thirteen authors and also averages for the republican writers except Catullus, and for the imperial writers except the satirists. Catullus and the satirists are excluded because, as noted in detail elsewhere, their usage was strongly divergent from that of their respective contemporaries.

TABLE IV										
Words with harmony			Sequences of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in second, third, and fourth feet							
	I-IV	V-VI	ccc	cch	chc	hcc	hch	chh	hhc	hhh
Ennius.....	41.2	92.8	39.0	29.0	7.5	10.1	7.8	2.0	2.9	2.0
Lucilius.....	42.9	95.9	37.1	26.3	8.4	9.4	7.5	4.2	3.3	3.8
Catullus.....	41.5	98.6	25.9	51.6	6.3	4.8	9.2	1.6	.6	
Lucretius.....	38.2	97.7	36.3	31.9	5.7	12.5	8.9	2.9	.9	.8
Cicero.....	34.3	98.6	40.0	39.6	1.8	10.2	4.9	3.2	.4	
Vergil.....	35.9	99.4	37.6	22.1	15.9	12.2	8.8	2.6	.7	.1
Horace.....	36.5	95.0	40.6	31.6	8.0	9.0	7.9	2.4	.4	.1
Ovid.....	40.7	99.6	30.0	31.5	14.5	13.6	10.4	.3		.2
Lucan.....	37.5	99.6	31.1	24.5	21.8	11.7	10.6	.2	.2	
Persius.....	36.4	98.1	38.1	42.0	5.6	7.4	4.8	1.7	.4	
Juvenal.....	35.2	97.7	37.7	35.4	10.8	6.6	7.8	1.6		
Statius.....	39.4	99.8	30.1	24.9	27.3	9.6	7.3	.7		.2
Silius Italicus.....	34.6	99.7	40.0	24.7	16.7	7.3	10.2	.4	.4	.4
General average ....	38.0	97.9	35.7	31.9	11.6	9.6	8.2	1.8	.8	.6
Republican										
hexameter.....	39.1	96.2	38.1	31.7	5.8	10.5	7.3	3.1	1.9	1.6
Imperial hexameter	37.6	99.6	33.8	25.5	19.2	10.9	9.5	.7	.3	.2

The average for all thirteen poets (Table IV, third line from the end) gives a convenient view of the character of the Latin hexameter as a whole. The prevalence of harmony in the last two feet has already been discussed.

The eight sequences of harmony and clash in the second, third, and fourth feet stand in the table in the order of their



average frequency. The first two, *ccc* and *cch*, are by far the most common, including between them 67.6 per cent of the total. The first owes its vogue to the general preference for clash in this part of the verse. The popularity of the second is due to the fact already noted, that of these three feet, the fourth most readily permits harmony.

The next three sequences, *chc*, *hcc*, and *hch*, differ comparatively little from one another in frequency, but very considerably from those before and after them. They clearly form a second group, comprising 29.4 per cent of the total. The remarkable fact about the group is that it includes, along with two sequences, which have one occurrence of harmony to two of clash, one sequence (*hch*) with two occurrences of harmony. We learned from the figures presented in Table II that clash was most sought after in the third foot, and this fact at once explains the comparative frequency of the sequence *hch*, in spite of its two occurrences of harmony to one of clash.

The remaining three sequences, *chh*, *hhc*, and *hhh*, comprise only 3.2 per cent of the total. The stronger aversion to harmony in the second foot than in the fourth appears again in the fact that *chh* is more than twice as frequent as *hhc*.

In the main these characteristics appear in the Latin hexameter from the beginning, although there are certain differences of degree. The gradation of the several feet in the preference for harmony is, in fact, somewhat clearer in Ennius than in most of his successors. Ennius used the sequence *chc* less frequently than *hcc* and *hch*, which is to say that he preferred all sequences with clash in the third foot to any with harmony at that point. Similarly the division of the eight sequences of harmony and clash into three classes on the basis of frequency is more clearly marked in Ennius than in some of the later poets, particularly those of imperial times aside from the satirists. In two respects, however, Ennius' usage presents less sharp contrasts than that of most of the Latin poets. The difference between the two parts of the verse is

already clear, with 41.2 per cent of harmony in the first four feet and 92.8 per cent in the others, but this indicates only a slight excess of clash over harmony in the earlier part of the verse, and many exceptions to the rule of harmony in the latter part. Similarly the three disfavored sequences comprise 6.9 per cent of the total, as against 3.2 per cent in the average usage and 1.2 per cent in the average for the imperial writers aside from the satirists.

Lucilius shows no important variation from Ennius except in the increased proportion of harmony in the last two feet. The sequence *chc* becomes, in his usage, a little more common than *hch*, while the three disfavored sequences rise to 11.3 per cent of the total. But, in view of the small extent of the available text of both authors, these two slight differences may be accidental; quite possibly they would disappear if we could base our figures upon a satisfactory number of lines.

The Ciceronian period saw three modifications of technique. Two of them were decisive for the later history of the Latin hexameter, and these were shared to some extent by all three poets of the period. Exceptions to the rule of harmony in the last two feet became much less common, and the disfavored sequences, particularly *hhh*, came to be used less freely than in Ennius.

The third modification is chiefly confined to Catullus, and it has been noted in our study of Table II; Catullus undertook to secure as much harmony as possible in the fourth foot, and at the same time he reduced the proportion of harmony in the second and third feet. Consequently the sequence *ccc* is rarer in Catullus than elsewhere, while the sequence *cch* is much more common than in any other poem included in our study. As compared with Ennius and Lucilius, Catullus shows a decrease in the frequency of *chc* and a corresponding increase in the frequency of *hch*. This change also resulted from the more frequent harmony of accent and ictus in the fourth foot. Catullus' inclusion of the fourth foot under the rule of harmony undoubtedly promoted the smoothness of



the hexameter, but it very greatly increased the difficulty of composition. Even without such a refinement the Latin hexameter was an exceptionally difficult verse, and so we need not wonder that later poets did not follow Catullus' example.

Vergil carried still further the exclusion of clash from the last two feet, and, following Cicero's example, he intensified the contrast between the two parts of the verse by means of a relatively small proportion of harmony in the first part. Vergil retained unaltered the treatment of the three disfavored sequences which had been developed in the preceding generation. Quite possibly we should ascribe to a conscious reaction against the practice of Catullus the fact that Vergil used the sequence *cch* less frequently than any other poet included in our study: it appears in only 22.1 per cent of his lines as against 51.6 per cent of those of Catullus, while the average is 31.9 per cent. On the other hand, Vergil was the first to use the sequence *chc* more frequently than the others of the second group. This innovation amounts to a partial repudiation of the principle that clash was particularly desirable in the third foot and only moderately desirable in the fourth. The effectiveness of such an arrangement is undeniable; assuming the regular harmony for the last two feet, it gives for the entire verse the scheme *hchchh* or, somewhat less commonly, *cchchh*. Either one gives an agreeable alternation of harmony and clash which is shared by only one other of our sequences. Much the same effect results from *chcchh*; but this is possible only in case of elision at the close of the first foot, as in *Aen.* I, 40:

Argívum átque ípsos pótuít summérgere pónto.<sup>4</sup>  
           1          2          3          4          5          6

The rescuing of the sequence *chc* from its undeserved obscurity may be counted one of Vergil's important contributions to the technique of the hexameter.

<sup>4</sup>This statement holds of the known word-accents. Perhaps sentence accent and secondary accents of long words provided some other possibilities.

In his *Satires* Horace followed Lucilius' manipulation of harmony and clash rather than that of the later poets. Table I shows nearly the same figures for Horace's earlier work and for Lucilius, except that Horace had a little less harmony in the first four feet and made less use of the three disfavored sequences. Horace's *Epistles* are also noticeably Lucilian, but in some respects they approach more nearly than the *Satires* to the usual practice of the poet's own day.

In the use of harmony and clash, as in other matters, Ovid was powerfully influenced by Vergil, but in one respect he seems to show the influence of Catullus. He does not, indeed, show a particularly high proportion of harmony in the fourth foot, but it is likely that his return to over 40 per cent of harmony in the first four feet was caused by a desire, similar to that of Catullus, for reducing the roughness of the earlier part of the line. He attained this by a considerable increase of harmony in the first foot (see Table II) and moderately frequent harmony in the second and fourth feet. This type of verse was much easier to compose than that of Catullus. A further feature of Ovid's usage was that he went beyond any of his predecessors in avoiding the disfavored sequences; in 1700 lines we have found only five instances of them.

Lucan's usage is practically identical with Ovid's, except that he approached Vergil in his comparatively infrequent use of *cch*, while he made even more frequent use than Vergil and Ovid of *chc*.

Persius and Juvenal show very clearly the influence of Horace, although they departed somewhat from his usage in the direction in which the hexameter was developing in the hands of other poets. Thus both these writers have a higher percentage of harmony in the fifth and sixth feet than Horace has, and both make slightly less use of the disfavored sequences. In the frequent use of *cch* Persius approaches Catullus more nearly than does any other poet.

Statius' usage is closely modelled upon Ovid and Lucan. In fact, he differs from the latter almost solely in a further



increase in the use of the sequence *chc*. This sequence comprises 27.3 per cent of his lines, and is more frequent than *cch*, so that our distribution of the eight sequences into three classes breaks down at this point.

Silius Italicus does not show any marked variation from the average usage of imperial times, except in a slight reduction of harmony in the first four feet, and a slight excess of the sequence *ccc*.

It appears that the development of this side of the Latin hexameter was virtually completed by Vergil. The satirists stood somewhat to one side of the general course of development, although they were affected by it. The norm of imperial usage is suggested by the average of all the imperial poets aside from the satirists, and this average, as given in Table IV, does not differ essentially from the figures given in the same table for Vergil.

Many readers are no doubt still asking whether these statistics are not really the old statistics on the caesura presented from a different point of view. In part they are, since the laws of Latin accentuation usually require approximately equal intervals between the accent and the end of the word. The chief contribution which I hope to have made lies precisely in the new point of view. No one has satisfactorily explained how word-ends, which are not perceptible to the ear, could affect the structure of the verse. On the other hand, the accentuation in verse of syllables ordinarily unaccented must compel attention; it seems inevitable that any form of verse which allows such conflicts should develop some sort of technique in regard to them. Surely an intelligible phonetic explanation of the observed facts is better than the shifting and mysterious doctrine of caesura.

Furthermore the figures in Table I apply to all parts of the verse and not merely to the third and fourth feet, while those in Table III take as careful account of the second foot as of the third and fourth. Again, no study of caesura would group the facts as we have done. The increasing use of the

feminine caesura in the third foot along with masculine caesura in the second and fourth has been observed, and, in the main, this combination of caesurae is equivalent to our sequence *chc*; but few students of caesura would include in this category such lines as *Aen.* 1, 57 and Lucan, 1, 244, while none would include Ovid, *Met.* 1, 193 (all cited above, p. 62). Writers on caesura differ much more widely from our classification of the lines with the sequences *ccc*, *cch*, and *hcc* (examples above, pp. 61 f.).

Modern scholars who have composed Latin hexameters have, of course, used as their models the imperial poets, especially Vergil, and they have tried to employ caesura as these poets did. If, however, there is any noteworthy advantage in our new classification of the phenomena, we may expect the usage of modern poets to diverge somewhat from that shown by our figures for Vergil and his successors. Some 400 Latin hexameters chosen at random from the *Dublin Translations in Greek and Latin Verse* (ed. R. Y. Tyrrell) yield the following percentages:

<i>ccc</i>	<i>cch</i>	<i>chc</i>	<i>hcc</i>	<i>hch</i>	<i>chh</i>	<i>hhc</i>
38.7	31.7	5.8	10.3	11.1	1.6	.8

These verses differ considerably from Vergil and the average usage of imperial times in the greater frequency of *cch* and the less frequent use of *chc*. They stand much nearer the average usage of the republican poets than that of the imperial poets, as presented in Table IV. Apparently modern writers of Latin verses have something to learn from our statistics.

By way of summary, we list the following as the most striking features of the technique which developed in the treatment of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in the Latin hexameter.

1. Harmony was sought after in the last two feet, and the requirement gradually became more rigid from Ennius, who has 92.8 per cent of harmony, to Vergil, who has 99.4 per cent of harmony. In imperial times only the satirists show less than 99 per cent of harmony.



2. Outside of the last two feet harmony is most frequent in the first foot, where it is more frequent than clash. Next in order comes the fourth foot, then the second. In the third foot harmony is least in favor.

3. Catullus tried with considerable success to extend the rule of harmony to the fourth foot; but this made the composition of the hexameter so difficult that other poets did not follow him.

4. Horace, Persius, and Juvenal stand on one side of the main line of development in several particulars, and in these they approach the usage of Lucilius.

5. The sequence *chc* was clearly favored by Vergil and all his successors except the satirists.

6. The three sequences *chh*, *hhc*, and *hhh* were in disfavor except, perhaps, with Lucilius, and from Ovid on they were rather carefully avoided.

On the whole, there was a fairly definite and progressively developing technique in this matter. We have; then, the confirmation, which we hoped to find, of our demonstration that both the Latin accent and the ictus of the hexameter involved stress.

Statistics in regard to caesura have occasionally been used as a test of authorship, and it is reasonable to hope that our figures will furnish a sounder basis for such an argument. In Table V, accordingly, are presented statistics on the three longer hexameter poems of the Vergilian Appendix. The figures for the *Aetna* are based upon a study of 400 lines, and so are those in the first two columns for the *Ciris*. Otherwise the entire poems have been included in the statistics, except for a few corrupt lines. The other hexameter poems of the Appendix are too brief to yield reliable results. How far from the average usage of an author a passage of about 100 lines may deviate is shown by the eighth Eclogue, which has *ccc* 38.2 per cent of the time, *cch* 20.6 per cent, *hcc* 8.8 per cent, *chc* 8.8 per cent, and *hch* 23.5 per cent. The extraordinary frequency of the last named sequence is largely due to the refrain:

ducite ab úrbe dómum, mea cármina, ducite Daphnim;  
                   2                  3                  4

but we must nevertheless conclude that Vergil had no objection to using a particular sequence with unusual frequency in a given passage. A comparison of various passages indicates that little significance can be attached to figures based upon less than 200 lines of text, and it is better to include at least twice that amount.

TABLE V

	Words with harmony		Sequences of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in second, third, and fourth feet								Doubtful
	I-IV	V-VI	ccc	cch	chc	hcc	hch	chh	hhc	hhh	
<i>Aetna</i> . . . .	36.8	99.6	36.1	23.6	16.3	12.8	9.3	1.0	1.0		21.7
<i>Culex</i> . . . .	37.4	99.4	44.0	24.1	11.5	11.1	8.7		.6		38.3
<i>Ciris</i> . . . .	35.0	99.6	38.1	35.8	9.4	11.7	3.6	1.1	.3		32.5

The *Aetna* and the *Culex* correspond rather closely with Vergil's usage in the matter of harmony and clash of accent and ictus. In fact the figures for the *Aetna* differ from the average for Vergil, as given in Table IV, rather less than do most of those given in Table III for passages of undoubted Vergilian authorship. The *Culex* differs from Vergil's usage chiefly in the greater frequency of *ccc*, and the lesser frequency of *chc*. Table III shows that *Eclogues*, 1-5 differ from the Vergilian average in the former respect, having *ccc* in 41.3 per cent of the lines whose accentuation in the second, third, and fourth feet is known. This is not far below the 44.0 per cent of the *Culex*. Moreover *Eclogues*, 6-10 show *chc* only a little more frequently than the *Culex*; the precise figure is 12.1 per cent as against 11.5 per cent for the *Culex*. Our figures are therefore in harmony with the theory that the *Culex* was composed by Vergil in his youth, after the principal features of his technique were fixed, but before he had attained the degree of uniformity that appears in his mature work. The *Aetna* may, as far as this criterion is concerned, have been written by Vergil at any time in his career.

The *Ciris* differs from all the Vergilian passages treated in Table III and also from the two minor poems just discussed



in the greater frequency of *cch* and the comparative rarity of *chc* and *hch*. The first two of these variations may be explained by the fact that the author of the *Ciris* wrote under the influence of Catullus, 64,<sup>6</sup> although he did not go nearly so far as Catullus did in favoring *cch* and avoiding *chc*. As to *hch*, however, the author of the *Ciris* goes directly contrary to Catullus' practice; while Catullus favored this sequence, as involving harmony in the fourth foot, the *Ciris* shows *hch* less frequently than any other of the poems included in Tables III, IV, and V. This sequence, to be sure, is relatively unimportant, appearing only 8.2 per cent of the time, on an average. Furthermore Vergil's use of it in his undoubtedly genuine works shows a variation of about 47 per cent, from 12.2 per cent in *Aen.* VII to 6.5 per cent in *Ecl.* 1-5. It is therefore possible that the *Ciris* was written by Vergil at an early age while temporarily under the influence of Catullus. As we saw above (p. 66), Vergil's later reaction to Catullus' innovation in technique seems to have been hostile.

The *Aetna* and the *Culex* differ radically from the usage of any other than Vergil of the poets studied. They differ, for example, from Ovid in showing less harmony in the first four feet, in the greater frequency of the sequence *ccc*, and the lesser frequency of *cch*, and the *Aetna* shows the disfavored sequences more than twice as frequently as Ovid.

The *Ciris* is equally unlikely to have been written by any except Vergil of the poets studied, unless possibly by Ovid. It approaches Vergil's usage more closely than Ovid's in respect to the proportion of harmony in the first four feet, in the frequency of the sequence *ccc*, and in the relative frequency of the disfavored sequences. In only one respect is it nearer to Ovid than to Vergil, namely, in the frequency of the sequence *cch*, and in this the *Ciris* exceeds both poets, undoubtedly under the influence of Catullus. The sequence *chc* appears in the *Ciris* less frequently than in any of the Vergil passages included in Table III, and less frequently than in

<sup>6</sup> See Bellinger, *T. A. P. A.* LIII, 73-82.

Ovid's average usage; but in Ovid, *Met.* vii, 1-500 this sequence has about the same frequency as in the *Ciris*. The treatment of *hcc* in this poem is about the same as that of Vergil and of Ovid, while *hch* occurs much less frequently than in either of them. It is, on the whole, unlikely that Ovid wrote the *Ciris*.

It is important to remember that such a criterion as this is essentially negative in its character. While we can fairly claim to have proven that no one except Vergil of the authors studied wrote the *Aetna* or the *Culex*, and that none of them, except Vergil or Ovid, wrote the *Ciris*, we cannot hope to prove in this way that any particular poet was the author of a given poem. Although the treatment of harmony and clash of accent and ictus in the *Aetna* is remarkably like that in the poems which were surely written by Vergil, it is possible that some other poet hit upon this same treatment.



V.—*Callisthenes, the Original Historian of Alexander*

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Our knowledge of Alexander the Great and his conquests depends chiefly upon the works of historians who lived from three to five hundred years after Alexander's death, such as Diodorus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Justinus, and Arrian. These writers in turn used as their sources the accounts, now no longer extant, of a large number of writers who lived at or shortly after the time of Alexander: Most of this original group actually participated in the expedition: Plutarch, in chapter 46 of his *Life of Alexander*, mentions fifteen of them by name, and we know of certain others. Their accounts, however, were by no means altogether primary; most of them derived a good deal of their material directly or indirectly from others, and in particular from a certain Callisthenes, whose book about Alexander's expedition must have been the earliest of them all. Callisthenes came from Olynthus, and his mother is said to have been a first cousin of Aristotle. He was a man of ability and education, and the author of several books. He is said to have been invited by Alexander, or to have come of his own accord, to join the expedition for the purpose of writing an account of it. He wrote in camp, and was not able to finish his account, for either he was executed by order of Alexander, as some said, or he was arrested and died in prison, about 327 B.C., before the expedition was over.

P. Corssen, in an admirable article in *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917), entitled "Das Angebliche Werk des Olynthiers Kallisthenes," has tried to prove that there were two persons of this name whose works were sources for the history of Alexander. He starts from the contradictions between certain statements made by ancient writers about Callisthenes and

what Corssen considers the implications of certain passages actually quoted from Callisthenes himself. He believes that these quotations are from a book, the purpose of which was to exalt Alexander above ordinary mortals, whereas these ancient writers said that Callisthenes lost his life because of his opposition to the adoration of Alexander and because of his freedom of speech in criticizing the king. There is also an obvious contradiction between the statement of Ptolemy, that Callisthenes was tortured and hanged immediately after his trial, and the statement of Aristobulus, that Callisthenes was held a prisoner for some time after his arrest and finally died of disease. As for the first of these discrepancies, I think that no real contradiction exists. Certainly some quotations show that Callisthenes asserted or implied a miraculous element in some of the events of Alexander's expedition, and indicate that Callisthenes believed Alexander specially favored by the gods. But that is a very different thing from believing that Alexander was himself a god, or even that he should be approached with the ceremonies of the Persian court. As for the second matter, I think it quite possible that no one of these historians knew exactly what became of Callisthenes, except that he disappeared, and the two accounts seem to me variants of the same story, forming the commonest kind of doublette.

Corssen believes that Callisthenes of Olynthus wrote a book called *Persica*, but thinks that this was like the *Persica* of Hellanicus, and had little or nothing to do with Alexander. To this book he ascribes certain passages in the traditional histories of Alexander, particularly that which describes the monument of Sardanapalus. This passage was incorporated with some modifications in the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who were also members of the expedition. Other passages attributed to Callisthenes, which seem to imply that Alexander himself was something more than an ordinary mortal, are ascribed by Corssen to the work of another Callisthenes, distinct from the Olynthian. Corssen's proof of his



thesis seems to me far from convincing, and I believe there is no reason to think that there was more than one Callisthenes among the historians of Alexander. In passing I would ask how, if the work of the Olynthian Callisthenes did not concern Alexander's expedition, it came to be in the hands of such persons as Ptolemy and Aristobulus, when they were writing their accounts.

The Sardanapalus passage is of some importance because of the light it throws upon the sources of the history of Alexander: it is doubtless familiar to everyone from the discussion of it by Eduard Meyer in the first volume of his *Forschungen*, p. 203 ff. Briefly the story is as follows. Late in the summer of 333 B.C. the army of Alexander reached Anchiale near Tarsus in Cilicia, and saw there a statue of an Assyrian king. The statue had its arm or arms extended in a gesture unintelligible to the Macedonians. Upon the monument was carved an inscription in Assyrian letters—doubtless cuneiform characters—which they could not read, but which, as they found out somehow, said: "Sardanapalus, son of Anakyn-daraxes, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day. Eat, drink, and be merry, for all else is not worth that," meaning apparently the gesture which the statue made.

Now, of course, there never was a king Sardanapalus. The name was perhaps a corruption of Ashur-bani-apal. About the name, however, the Greeks clustered legends of other Oriental monarchs, and a good many stories which were pure fiction, until at last the legends of Sardanapalus became so complicated and inconsistent that some writers were forced to assume that there must have been more than one person of this name. There may well have been a monument at Anchiale of Sanherib, *i.e.*, Sennacherib, or of some other Assyrian king; but certainly no Assyrian monument ever bore such an inscription as this.

We have three different descriptions of this monument at Anchiale. One is quoted from Callisthenes by Suidas in his lexicon under the name Sardanapalus. The second is

quoted from Aristobulus by Athenaeus, XII, 39, and by Strabo, XIV, 5, 9. The two quotations differ somewhat in length and form; but the important words are the same in both. There is still a third description in Arrian, II, 5, 3-4, and this is apparently from Ptolemy.

The three descriptions of the statue differ with respect to the position of the hands, and as it is just this very thing which occasioned remark in each case, the differences are striking. Callisthenes says *the hands were raised above the head as if to clap with the fingers* (ὡς ἂν ἀποληκοῦν τοῖς δακτύλοις), whatever that may mean. I suppose the meaning is that the statue seemed to be clapping its hands together above its head. Why anyone should raise his hands above his head to clap I do not understand, though I have seen persons clapping with their hands held quite far up and forward, in order that they might not only be heard but also be seen to applaud. Aristobulus, however, says that the statue was *snapping the fingers of the right hand*, while Ptolemy says that the figure *had struck its hands together, very much as people do when they applaud*, and I suppose that means with the hands held before the body. Now Meyer has reproduced from Perrot and Chipiez a statue of "Samsiramân IV," i.e. Shamshi Adad IV (?), and another of some Old-Babylonian king, in which the position of the hands corresponds exactly with that in the descriptions of Aristobulus and Ptolemy respectively. It is quite possible that there was in reality a third type also, in which the hands were raised above the head. Doubtless in all these cases the posture was one of prayer or of command, but was not understood by the Greeks because the attitude of prayer with which they were familiar was different. Callisthenes does not really describe the monument at Anchiale at all; he describes a monument of Sardanapalus at Ninevah, and says that there was the same inscription, apparently on a similar statue, at Anchiale. I do not believe that Aristobulus was ever at Anchiale; but he may have seen a statue of this sort elsewhere. Thus it is quite possible that there were really



three statues, one at Ninevah, one perhaps at Anchiale, and one somewhere else, and that each was correctly described by one of our three sources.

On the other hand, when we consider the inscription we find that it is practically the same in all three accounts, and since it is obvious that such an inscription never really existed at all, the uniformity of the accounts in this respect is even more striking than the differences with regard to the statue.

It is evident that two of these authors copied the inscription from the third or from a common source. Ptolemy wrote his memoirs after 305 B.C., and Aristobulus wrote his book after 301; Callisthenes, however, apparently was arrested for alleged participation in a conspiracy against Alexander in 327, and probably was executed at that time. Consequently it is probable that Ptolemy and Aristobulus took their accounts of the inscription on the monument from Callisthenes, but altered his description of the statue and its gesture in conformity with monuments which they had actually seen for themselves.

Niese, in 1880, called attention to the fact that the inscription in the accounts of Callisthenes and Aristobulus is in the Ionic dialect of the time of Herodotus, two or three generations before Callisthenes: the version of the inscription assigned to Ptolemy, which is in the common Greek of the fourth century, is obviously a translation. Consequently it seems evident that Callisthenes got the story from a book, much older than himself and written in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century, which told about Ninevah. Niese thought this was the *Persica* of Hellanicus; Meyer thought it more probably a book by Dionysius of Miletus, another contemporary of Herodotus, about whose work we know very little. I think, however, that both Niese and Eduard Meyer are mistaken. For reasons which I have given in detail elsewhere, I believe that Callisthenes' source for the story of the monument was Ctesias of Cnidus, that physician at Artaxerxes' court, who, after his escape from Persia in 387 or 384 B.C., wrote in Ionic



Greek another *Persica* in twenty-three books. The evidence in brief is as follows: Diodorus, II, 21, 8 ff., and Athenaeus, XII, 38, describe with edifying details the life and character of King Sardanapalus, and both state expressly that they used Ctesias as a source. I doubt if they had any other, except for the metrical version in five hexameters, commonly ascribed to Choerilus, of the epitaph written by the king himself for his own tomb. Plutarch also, towards the end of the first century after Christ, tells something about Sardanapalus in his second essay *de Alexandri Fortuna aut Virtute*, II, 3. He says there: "Sardanapalus, when he became a man, carded purple wool at home, sitting among the women ἀναβάδην ('up-stepping,' i.e., with his foot on his chair or under him); and when he died they made a stone statue, riding upon itself in a barbarous posture (ἐποχουμένη ἐαυτῇ βαρβαριστί), with the fingers above the head as when they applaud, and wrote upon it: 'eat, drink, and enjoy thyself; the rest is worth nothing.'" Plutarch does not mention his source; but there is an unmistakable connection between this passage and the accounts of Sardanapalus given by Diodorus and Athenaeus. For example, Plutarch says that the king carded purple wool at home, i.e., indoors, sitting ἀναβάδην among the women. Diodorus, in somewhat different language, says: "Not allowing himself to be seen by anyone outside, he lived the life of a woman, spending his time with the concubines, spinning purple and the softest kinds of wool." Athenaeus says: "Carding purple wool with the concubines and sitting ἀναβάδην with them." In particular this word ἀναβάδην, used by Athenaeus and Plutarch, is so unusual that no one knows precisely what it means. I have translated it 'with his foot under him,' and when recently I told a large group of ladies about it many of them smiled. I think I have observed the same manner of sitting in my own home, and that it explains the strange words of Plutarch in describing the statue: "riding upon itself in a barbarous posture." Furthermore, in Plutarch's words, "when he died they made a stone statue," the verb is left



without a subject; but this is easily supplied from Diodorus, who says that Sardanapalus gave instructions to his successors in the kingdom after his death to carve upon his tomb the epitaph which he wrote himself. Athenaeus lived after Plutarch; but Diodorus was before him and might have been his source. Plutarch, however, not only has in common with Athenaeus the strange word ἀναβάδην, which Diodorus has omitted, but he also has something else, apparently a part of the original account, which was omitted by both Diodorus and Athenaeus, namely, the description of the statue. It seems to me certain, therefore, that Plutarch was not using Diodorus here—and of course he was not using Athenaeus—but the common source of both, and that was Ctesias. Now in his description Plutarch says that the hands of the statue were above its head, and this agrees with Callisthenes' account, and with this alone. Consequently Ctesias, who was Plutarch's source, must have been the source of Callisthenes also.

From this it appears that, at least in one instance, Callisthenes used Ctesias' book, which he must have had with him in camp, and that later on both Ptolemy and Aristobulus used Callisthenes.

There is another story in the accounts of Alexander's expedition, which I believe may be traced to Callisthenes, and through him to Ctesias. This is the account of the capture of the rock in Sogdiana, which involves Alexander's meeting with Roxane the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. It is found in Arrian, iv, 18 f.; but it is also in Quintus Curtius, vii, 11, and Curtius is one of the authors of the vulgata. Arrian says that early in the spring Alexander came to a mountain fortress in Sogdiana, into which many had taken refuge, and among them the wife and daughters of Oxyartes the Bactrian. The place was supposed to be impregnable, and provisions for a long siege had been collected in it. Yet even so Alexander thought he must capture it, because the barbarians had aroused his anger as well as his ambition. For when they were

invited to a conference, and the offer was made to them that they might depart safely to their own homes if they surrendered the fortress, with laughter and barbaric gestures they told Alexander to find soldiers with wings to take the mountain for him, since they had no fear of any other men. Consequently he collected some three hundred men, who had been trained to climb rocks (*πετροβατεῖν*) in his sieges, and these were instructed to bring with them iron tent-pegs and ropes. With these they advanced by night to the part of the rock which was most precipitous and therefore least guarded, and by driving the tent-pegs into the ground and attaching ropes to them, they drew themselves up at different parts of the cliff. Reaching the top, at dawn they signalled by flags to the Macedonians below, as Alexander had ordered. Then sending a herald he commanded the barbarians to delay no longer, for the men with wings were found; at the same time he pointed to the soldiers on the summit. The barbarians were so frightened at the sight that they surrendered. Among the captives were the wife and children of Oxyartes, one of whom was a maiden of marriageable age named Roxane. Those who were with Alexander say that she was the most beautiful of all the women of Asia whom they saw, excepting the wife of Darius. And when Alexander saw her, he fell in love with her, and because he loved her, though she was a captive, he was not willing to treat her with indignity, and thought it not unworthy of him to marry her.

Curtius' account is as usual a good deal more rhetorical and heavily padded; but, though it adds some details of small importance, it agrees closely with Arrian's, except in one very important particular. Curtius makes no mention of Oxyartes in connection with this fortress, and gives a different version of Alexander's meeting with Roxane. He says that Oxyartes first joined Spitamenes and Bessus against Alexander, but that afterwards, submitting to the conqueror, he invited him to a banquet at which thirty noble maidens, including Roxane, were present. At this banquet Alexander fell so passionately



in love with the lady that he married her at once, with all due formality, in spite of the criticism to which this action naturally subjected him.

Now Diodorus in Book II, which is derived chiefly if not wholly from Ctesias, tells (chap. 6) how a certain Oxyartes, a Bactrian, warred against Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian Empire, and how the latter captured the fortress of Bactra, and there met and married the fascinating though somewhat fabulous Semiramis. The story in Diodorus differs materially from that in Arrian, since in the former it is the beautiful lady herself who effects the capture of the rock, instead of being captured on it. But in other respects the two stories are very similar. Diodorus, and that I think means Ctesias, says that Ninus was not able to capture Bactra by storm, because of the natural strength of the place, and because of the preparations made for its defense; but when Semiramis came, she selected soldiers who were accustomed to climb rocks (*πετροβατεῖν*), and with these she climbed up through a ravine, very difficult of ascent, captured a part of the acropolis, and then gave a signal to those down in the plain who were besieging the wall; hereupon those within, confounded by the capture of the summit, deserted the walls and despaired of their safety. When the city had been captured in this way, the king, admiring the valor of the woman, first honored her with great gifts, and afterwards, falling in love with her because of her beauty, married her, although she was already married to another man, and in this way Semiramis became an ornament of the royal house.

It looks to me as if the name of Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, had reminded Callisthenes of the story in Ctesias about the other Oxyartes, and so the story of the mountain fortress, which was captured by men accustomed to "rock-walk," who seized the summit of the rock in the rear of the defenders and waved a signal to the besiegers down below, was grafted on to the story of Alexander's adventures in that same mountain country. Perhaps the joke in Arrian and



Curtius about the men with wings, which is a very significant feature of the story, was in Ctesias also. It reminds one of the joke about the statue of Sardanapalus; but, if so, the joke was omitted by the serious-minded Diodorus. If Curtius had the story of the capture of this rock from Callisthenes, he omitted from it the mention of Roxane, because her capture there seemed to him too improbable, or because it conflicted with the story of the banquet of Oxyartes which he had from some other source. On the other hand, if Alexander really captured a fortress in Sogdiana, and if, as Curtius says, all the captives were enslaved and distributed among the cities, Arrian's source must have ignored this fact because it conflicted with his story about Roxane. We cannot be sure. But I believe that at least a part of the story of the Sogdian rock came both to Curtius and to Arrian from Callisthenes, and that Callisthenes in turn had it from Ctesias.

It has long been recognized that Callisthenes was the ultimate source of much that is in all the ancient historians of Alexander, not only Arrian, but also the vulgata and Plutarch. For example, a good deal in all the narratives of Alexander's journey to the temple of Ammon is from Callisthenes, including, I think, the account of the spring of the sun which was taken almost literally from Herodotus. Moreover, the extraordinary uniformity in all the accounts of the battle of Issus, excepting only the speeches and the rhetorical padding, can be explained only on the assumption of a common source, which all followed: that this source was Callisthenes is made fairly clear by Polybius. Still another example is furnished by the passages in which Aristander the soothsayer appears; for it is generally admitted that the Aristander passages have a common origin, and they disappear from the tradition entirely after the arrest of Callisthenes. There is, however, evidence of a somewhat different sort, which indicates that Callisthenes was far more than a source in the ordinary sense for all the others.

It is a conspicuous fact that the itinerary and the sequence



of events are practically identical in all the extant accounts of Alexander's expedition from the very beginning until the crossing of the so-called Caucasus, in the spring of 329 or 328 B.C. From the crossing of the "Caucasus" until Alexander finally left the city of Bactra, probably in the spring of 327, the accounts vary somewhat more seriously, partly because during this time Alexander was not moving ahead continuously, but was making expeditions from certain centers such as Maracanda and Bactra, to which he returned several times. But from the spring of 327 to the end the itineraries in the various accounts are entirely different. For this period Arrian mentions some fifty-seven geographical or other names which help to determine the sequence of events, while Curtius, agreeing in the main with the vulgata as a whole, gives about thirty-six. Of these, twenty-five names occur in both lines of the tradition: seven are names of rivers such as the Indus, the Hydaspes, and the Tigris, ten are names of cities, including Pasargadae, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon, six are of princes, such as Porus and Taxiles, or of tribes. Most of these are the most important names, familiar to everyone. Moreover, the names common to both appear often in a different order in these two streams of tradition. The other names in each are omitted altogether from the other. Now Callisthenes was arrested, probably in the winter of 328-327, for his opposition to the proscynesis and for his supposed complicity in the plots and intrigues of that time. It is probable that he was executed immediately. The uniformity of the sequence of events in all the accounts up to that year indicates that Callisthenes' account, as far as it was completed, was the common basis of all. The variations in the accounts for the year 328-327 and perhaps for the year preceding indicate that Callisthenes' account for this period was unfinished. The discrepancies in the sequence of events in the various accounts after the spring of 327 show that there was no common basis for these accounts after that date.

The natural source for the itinerary of the expedition and the sequence of events was the official journal, called the



βασιλικοὶ or βασιλικαὶ ἐφημερίδες, kept at Alexander's headquarters by Eumenes of Cardia, the ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, and Diodotus of Erythrae. Passages in Aelian, Athenaeus, and Plutarch suggest that the day-books were published by Eumenes, and Suidas seems to refer to a redaction of them by Strattis of Olynthus; but there is no certain evidence for either publication. There is a mystery about these day-books. That they began at the beginning of the expedition seems to me certain. That they were kept to the very end is proved by the explicit quotations from them in Arrian and Plutarch for the last days of Alexander's life. But we have no other direct quotations, and few references to them. Doubtless they were available in Callisthenes' lifetime, and I believe that he based his account upon them. Wilcken, Kaerst, and Wachsmuth have tried to show that they were used by Ptolemy, and Wilcken believes that through Ptolemy they became the basis of Arrian. But the arguments of these scholars are by no means conclusive. The confusion and the lack of uniformity in the itinerary in all the accounts after the spring of 327 B.C. show that, after the death of Alexander and before the later accounts were written, the ephemerides, excepting only the last pages which told of Alexander's final illness and death, were lost. Consequently the official itinerary of the expedition, so far as it was preserved at all, was preserved by Callisthenes, and was transmitted by him to all the others.

If this is true, then Callisthenes' book, as far as it was completed, was not only a source for all our accounts of Alexander's expedition, but was their foundation, supplying to all at least the itinerary and sequence of events on which all were based. The history of the expedition to the spring of 327 includes all that is important about it, excepting the campaigns in India and the return to Babylon. Thus, as often where we seem to have several independent accounts of some great epoch, it appears on closer examination that all are modifications or expansions of one original narrative, however valuable to history these various modifications and additions may be.



VI.—*Likes and Dislikes in Elision, and the Vergilian  
Appendix*

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In the *T. A. P. A.* XLVI, 129–155, Professor E. H. Sturtevant and the present writer presented some studies on “Elision and Hiatus in Latin Prose and Verse.” On pages 151–153 there was an attempt to summarize the likes and dislikes of Latin authors for certain types of elision (for which the present writer was primarily responsible; cf. p. 129, footnote); but a more extensive examination of the works of some authors may serve to place the matter on a firmer basis.

As in the earlier article, we may divide all elisions into five groups: (1) the so-called ‘enclisis’ of *est* and of *es*, regardless of the final sounds which precede; and of the remaining cases, (2) the elision of the vowel of the enclitic *-que*, including combinations like *quoque* ‘also’ and *quisque* ‘each,’ where the enclitic has become fixed; (3) the elision of a vowel followed by a final *m*; (4) the elision of a short vowel; (5) the elision of a long vowel or of a diphthong. For brevity, we shall refer to these five groups of elided sounds as T, Q, M, S (for Short), L (for Long). Where the statistics of this paper are different from those of the previous paper, it is due either to the use of a different text, or to accidental omission of an occasional example in the first examination, or to a different classification of the final vowels: as in *mihi*, *tibi*, *modo*, and a few other words, where the unelided forms show variations in length. After the lapse of eight years, the writer cannot be sure that he has evaluated these varying quantities in the same way.

He wishes to state that all the statistics in this article are his own, though he has verified them in part by comparison with A. Siedow, *De elisionis aphaeresis hiatus usu in hexametris Latinis ab Ennii usque ad Ovidii tempora*, and the slight

discrepancy between the two sets, where it exists, amounts to about one per cent, which will not invalidate any of the conclusions drawn here; further, that he has normally discarded minor fractions of a per cent, and counted major fractions, so that the total percentage in any given instance may appear to be 99 or 101, rather than 100.

If we are to determine the likes and dislikes of authors for these types of elision relatively to one another, we must find how many consecutive elisions are needed to give a valid basis for a conclusion. Let us try the matter on the basis of 100 consecutive elisions, taken from the opening verses of the books of Lucretius' *de Rerum Natura*, with which we note the number of verses necessary for the finding of this number of elisions:

Lucretius	Elisions	T	Q	M	S	L
I, 1-185.....	100	7	16	15	50	12
II, 1-243.....	100	14	17	16	38	15
III, 1-155.....	100	5	26	20	38	11
IV, 1-220.....	100	11	26	18	36	9
V, 1-175.....	100	11	11	10	52	16
VI, 1-257.....	100	6	20	20	43	11
Average.....	100	9	19.3	16.5	42.8	12.3

While the figures vary in their absolute values, there is very little variation in their relative order. The commonest elision is S, followed at a long remove by Q, M, L, T, where the intervals are small. Now this relative order is to be seen in most of the separate books. Book IV sets T ahead of L, and VI ties Q and M. Only in V is the variation serious. Here let us try an additional hundred elisions:

Lucretius	Elisions	T	Q	M	S	L
v, 1-175.....	100	11	11	10	52	16
v, 176-358.....	100	11	27	17	35	10
Average.....	100	11	19	13.5	43.5	13

Oddly, the average of these two hundreds, despite the unpropitious start, is nearer the norm reached from averaging the hundreds of the six books, than is the single hundred of any one of the other five books.



On the other hand, Lucretius may have his 100 elisions in as few as 155 verses, or may write as many as 257 verses before reaching the hundredth elision. Thus while 100 elisions may be expected to give a reasonably accurate norm for likes and dislikes in elision in an author, and 200 consecutive elisions a very accurate norm, the corresponding piece of text will not give an accurate norm for the frequency of elision.

Let us test this formulation on the writings of Horace. Here we are faced by two conditions not present in the poem of Lucretius. The latter wrote a single poem on a single though extensive subject, in a single meter; the former wrote over nearly or quite thirty years, on a variety of subjects, in different styles and meters. We must divide his works into two classes, the hexameters and the lyrics; and we must here give first the total number of elisions, with the number per 100 verses, then the absolute number of elisions of each group, and the relative percentages of each group.

HORACE													
	Total	Elisions		Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
Hexameters	Verses	Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
<i>Serm.</i> I . . . . .	1030	447	43	59	52	128	126	82	13	12	29	28	18
<i>Serm.</i> II . . . . .	1083	509	47	48	30	164	134	133	9	6	32	26	26
<i>Epist.</i> I . . . . .	1066	199	20	29	10	70	53	37	15	5	35	27	19
<i>Epist.</i> II, 1-2.	486	95	20	14	5	33	26	17	15	5	35	27	18
<i>A. P.</i> . . . . .	476	101	21	16	14	35	23	13	16	14	35	23	13
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Totals . . . . .	4141	1350	33	166	111	430	362	282	12	8	32	27	21
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Lyrics													
<i>Epodes</i> . . . . .	615	98	16	9	15	36	28	10	9	15	37	29	10
<i>Carm.</i> I . . . . .	876	105	12	6	11	49	30	9	6	10	47	29	9
<i>Carm.</i> II . . . . .	572	81	14	5	8	38	23	7	6	10	47	28	9
<i>Carm.</i> III . . . .	1008	184	18	9	11	87	50	27	5	6	47	27	15
<i>C. S., Carm.</i> IV	582	51	9	6	20	14	9	2	12	39	27	18	4
<hr/>													
Totals . . . . .	3653	519	14	35	65	224	140	55	7	13	43	27	11

In the hexameter poems, the relative frequency is M, S, L, T, Q, both when they are taken as a total and when the books are taken separately, except that in the *Ars Poetica* the elision of L has sunk into fifth place; but if we consider this poem as part of the second book of *Epistles*, the book as a whole pre-

serves the relative order with its 196 elisions. On the other hand, the number of elisions per 100 verses has been reduced from 43 and 47 in the *Sermones* to about 20 in the *Epistles*, and a similar reduction is to be seen in the lyrics, when the latest poems of that group are compared with the earlier. But in the hexameters the relative likes and dislikes of the poet have not been changed thereby.

The lyrics, with their shorter verse-lengths, and difference in metrical requirements, present a slightly different picture. The elision of the vowel of *-que* is much more frequent, rising to third place; in the last lyrics, the *Carmen Saeculare* and *Carm.* IV, it even rises to first place—but this section has too few elisions, only 51, to serve as a basis for generalization. Quite naturally, the shorter verses of the lyrics have fewer elisions per 100 verses, than have the longer hexameters.

The six short *Satires* of Persius, averaging only a trifle over 100 verses apiece, may be expected to show much variation, especially as the young poet varied from 30 to 75 elisions per 100 verses. But the expectation is not quite fulfilled: his preferred elision is that of S, with M and L contending for second place, and Q and T almost tying for fourth. The same relative order is given when any three *Satires* are examined as a group. Even the brevity of the passages does not conceal the poet's preferences. The statistics are as follows:

## PERSIUS

	Total	Elisions		Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
	Verses	Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
I . . . . .	134	90	67	5	7	21	36	21	6	8	23	40	23
II . . . . .	75	41	55	3	9	6	10	13	7	22	15	24	32
III . . . . .	118	35	30	4	3	9	14	5	11	9	26	40	14
IV . . . . .	52	18	32	2	1	3	5	7	11	6	17	28	38
V . . . . .	191	87	46	8	11	23	31	14	9	13	26	36	16
VI . . . . .	80	60	75	8	6	9	26	11	13	10	15	43	18
Total . . . . .	650	331	51	30	37	71	122	71	9	11	21	37	21

From the same standpoint, Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Bucolics*, and four selected books of the *Aeneid* have been examined. The statistics are herewith presented:



## VERGIL

<i>Eclogues</i>	Total Elisions			Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
	Verses	Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
1.....	83	18	22	0	2	6	6	4	0	11	33	33	22
2.....	73	27	36	1	3	9	6	8	4	11	33	22	30
3.....	111	46	41	3	3	12	13	15	7	7	26	28	33
4.....	63	14	22	1	3	5	3	2	7	21	36	21	14
5.....	90	21	23	2	5	3	5	6	10	24	14	24	29
6.....	86	23	27	3	4	4	6	6	13	17	17	26	26
7.....	70	15	21	1	2	2	5	5	7	13	13	33	33
8.....	109	39	36	2	5	8	19	5	5	13	21	49	13
9.....	67	17	25	2	2	3	6	4	12	12	18	35	24
10.....	77	22	29	2	5	6	7	2	9	23	27	32	9
Total...	829	242	29	17	34	58	76	57	7	14	24	31	24
<i>Georgics</i>													
I.....	514	242	47	2	55	71	57	57	1	23	29	23	23
II.....	542	257	47	8	73	63	66	47	3	28	24	26	18
III.....	566	290	51	8	80	65	75	62	3	28	22	26	21
IV.....	566	302	53	9	74	75	78	66	3	24	25	26	22
Total ..	2188	1091	49	27	282	274	276	232	2	26	25	25	21
<i>Aeneid</i>													
I.....	756	370	49	11	96	96	82	85	3	23	26	22	23
IV.....	705	393	56	12	92	111	98	80	3	23	28	25	20
VII.....	817	458	56	12	118	127	104	97	3	26	28	23	21
XII.....	953	554	58	21	125	151	123	134	4	23	27	22	24
Total ..	3231	1775	55	56	431	485	407	396	3	24	27	23	22

It is easy to see that Vergil disliked the enclisis of *est*. In his early works, the *Eclogues*, he shows least reluctance to elide S, with M and L tying in second place, and Q rather far behind in fourth place. But with his *Georgics*, he shows a much greater use of elision in general, though T remains very uncommon; he uses the other four kinds in almost equal numbers, though L falls a little behind, and in the *Aeneid* M forges distinctly to the front.

As for Ovid, we must divide his works into two groups, those in the elegiac distich and those in dactylic hexameters:

## OVID

Elegiacs	Total Verses	Elisions		Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
		Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
<i>Am.</i> I. . . .	778	96	12	28	15	13	28	12	29	16	14	29	12
" II . . .	836	129	15	51	21	10	35	12	40	16	8	27	9
<i>Her.</i> 1-7. .	1111	145	13	44	42	10	44	5	30	29	7	30	3
<i>Med. Fac.</i>	100	10	10	2	4	1	3	0	20	40	10	30	0
<i>A. A.</i> I. . .	772	112	14	34	29	7	34	8	31	26	6	30	7
" " II . .	747	97	13	35	20	4	34	4	36	21	4	35	4
<i>Rem. Am.</i>	814	107	13	46	17	7	30	7	43	16	7	28	7
<i>Trist.</i> I. . .	738	96	13	34	24	7	25	6	35	25	7	26	6
" II . .	578	94	16	45	25	5	14	5	48	27	5	15	5
<i>Ib.</i> . . . . .	644	67	10	18	28	3	15	3	27	42	4	22	4
<i>Pont.</i> I . . .	768	93	12	43	14	7	23	6	46	15	8	25	6
" II . .	930	112	12	52	30	6	18	6	46	27	5	16	5
<i>Fast.</i> II . . .	864	88	10	30	22	7	26	3	34	25	8	30	3
" V . . .	734	84	11	37	22	6	16	3	44	26	7	19	4
Total. . . . .	10414	1330	13	499	313	93	345	80	38	23	7	26	6

## Hexameters

<i>Met.</i> I. . . .	779	210	27	49	77	24	52	8	23	37	11	25	4
" V. . . .	678	179	26	51	70	20	32	6	28	39	11	19	3
" X. . . .	739	169	23	41	84	15	26	3	24	50	9	15	2
" XV . .	879	238	27	37	103	22	64	12	16	42	9	27	5
Total. . . . .	3075	796	26	178	334	81	174	29	22	42	10	22	4

## Elegiacs of Dubious Authorship

<i>Epistulae</i> .	1562	185	12	90	44	7	34	10	49	24	4	18	5
<i>Sappho</i> . . .	220	37	17	9	6	4	16	2	24	16	11	43	5

From these figures, we see that Ovid's usage is not uniform, for the elegiacs (except *Med. Fac.* and the *Ibis*) prefer T, with Q and S practically tied for second place, while the hexameters have Q in greatest amount, with T and S tied for second place. The *Ibis* and *Med. Fac.*, which depart from the norm of the elegiacs, have too few elisions to be taken as overturning the standard. All the poems of Ovid agree in having but a small amount of M and L. As for the poems of doubtful authorship, the *Epistulae* agree almost precisely with *Trist.* II, *Pont.* II, and *Fast.* v; the *Sappho* shows a surplus of S and a deficiency of T, but has too few elisions for any serious conclusion.

The likes and dislikes of the poets whom we have examined may be summarized as follows:

Lucretius preferred S, followed at a long interval by Q, M, L, T, which however are so close together that their relative order might be somewhat changed.



Horace preferred M, then S, followed by L, T, Q in his hexameters, but by Q, L, T in his lyrics; he is less regular in the lyrics than in the hexameters, and tends to depart from the norm in his latest writings.

Persius prefers S, with M and L contending for second place, and Q and T almost tying for fourth.

Vergil always disliked T, while the other four were almost equally used; but in his earliest works S was somewhat more common and Q somewhat less so, while in his latest writing M was by a slight margin the most used and L fell off a trifle.

Ovid disliked M and L; he preferred T in his elegiacs and M in his hexameters.

My interest in this subject was set into activity, as it happens, not by my interest in elision in the Roman poets, but by the discussion of Professor H. R. Fairclough on "The Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana," now printed in the *T. A. P. A.* LIII, 5-34. Professor Fairclough examines the various poems which are doubtfully assigned to Vergil on various grounds, with the vocabulary as a criterion, and does it in such a masterly way that it would be difficult to take exception either to his method or to his conclusion. But there is still a possibility that vocabulary does not furnish a perfectly objective criterion of authorship: even apart from considerations of the subject matter, one's likes and dislikes in the use of words may change from time to time—if not from year to year, at least from decade to decade.

It therefore occurred to me that there might be one or more objective criteria of authorship, factors which might fairly be beyond the conscious control of the author's mind, in the main; and they are these: the number of elisions per 100 verses; the relative amounts of the different types of elision; the number of dactyls in the first four feet of the hexameter. At the same time I realize the perils of the statistical method, and its limitations. All that it can in this case justify is the belief that a given poem may be by a certain author to whom

it is doubtfully assigned, or that it cannot be: the method cannot lead to a decision that the poem must be by the author, and there must be a wide gap between the usage of the poem and the usage of the author in his admitted works, before we can reach the negative conclusion.

Let us test the criterion of elision in the case of the Corpus Tibullianum, where Book III is recognized as the work of one Lygdamus; iv, 1, the *Panegyricum Messallae*, is generally believed not to be the work of Tibullus; iv, 2-6, the correspondence of Cerinthus and Sulpicia, is regarded as genuine work of Tibullus; iv, 7-12, are by Sulpicia; and iv, 13-14, like the first two books, are considered to be genuinely Tibullan. The summary table of elisions is as follows (Book I has been divided into two units because of its greater length):

## TIBULLUS

	Total	Elisions		Number of Elisions				
	Verses	Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L
I, 1-5.....	430	54	13	13	7	7	21	6
I, 6-10.....	380	55	14	17	6	6	22	4
II.....	438	75	17	18	10	11	29	7
III (Lygdamus).....	290	47	16	7	13	6	15	6
IV, 1 ( <i>Pan. Mess.</i> ).....	211	40	19	5	6	8	15	6
IV, 2-6.....	114	23	20	6	3	3	11	0
IV, 7-12 (Sulpicia).....	40	5	13	1	1	1	2	0
IV, 13-14.....	28	8	29	3	1	0	3	1

In the portions universally admitted to be by Tibullus, the commonest kind of elision is S, followed by T, and then M, Q, L in almost equal numbers. Book III, by Lygdamus, puts Q in second place by a wide margin over T. The *Panegyric* puts M in second place, with T the least used kind, though there are not enough elisions in it for very positive conclusions. The short poems of Sulpicia give too few elisions for argument; those few agree with the usage of Tibullus. On the whole, the Corpus Tibullianum distinctly confirms the trustworthiness of this criterion.

Naturally, it will not do to compare poems too short to approximate the norm of the author in question with a fair grade of accuracy; and these should be compared not with the average usage of the author, but with the range shown



by the author in text-units of similar length. As some of the poems of the Appendix Vergiliana have been claimed as works of the youthful Ovid,<sup>1</sup> we present here such a table of ranges, drawn from the statistics already given for the unquestioned works of Vergil and of Ovid:

VERGIL	Number of Verses	Elisions per 100 Verses	Relative Percentage of				
			T	Q	M	S	L
<i>Eclogues</i> . . . . .	63- 109	21-41	0-13	7-24	13-36	21-49	9-33
<i>Georgics</i> . . . . .	514- 566	45-53	1- 3	23-28	22-29	23-26	18-23
<i>Aeneid</i> . . . . .	756- 953	49-57	3- 4	23-26	26-28	22-25	20-24
OVID							
<i>Elegiacs</i> . . . . .	100-1111	10-16	20-48	15-42	4-14	15-35	0-12
<i>Hexameters</i> . . . . .	678- 879	23-27	16-26	37-51	9-12	16-27	2- 5

Of all the minor poems doubtfully claimed for Vergil, only the *Aetna*, the *Ciris*, and the *Culex* are of such length that they may fairly be drawn into such a comparison; but for the sake of completeness, all the poems included in the Oxford edition of Ellis are given in the following table:

	Total Verses	Elisions		Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
		Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
<i>Aetna</i> . . . . .	646	265	41	67	67	38	68	25	25	25	14	26	9
<i>Ciris</i> . . . . .	541	241	45	17	45	52	82	45	7	19	21	34	19
<i>Culex</i> . . . . .	414	47	11	6	22	3	14	2	13	47	6	30	4
<i>Moretum</i> . . . . .	124	20	16	1	7	5	3	4	5	35	25	15	20
<i>Dirae</i> . . . . .	103	26	25	1	2	1	17	5	4	8	4	65	19
<i>Lydia</i> . . . . .	80	20	25	12	5	0	3	0	60	25	0	15	0
<i>Copa</i> . . . . .	38	15	39	2	0	1	11	1	13	0	7	73	7
<i>Priapea</i> . . . . .	46	27	59	1	2	4	14	6	4	7	15	52	22
<i>Catalepton</i> . . . . .	229	92	40	6	11	19	40	16	7	12	21	43	17
<i>Est et non</i> . . . . .	25	13	52	3	0	1	7	2	23	0	8	54	15
<i>Vir bonus</i> . . . . .	26	11	42	0	2	2	2	5	0	18	18	18	46
<i>Maecenas</i> . . . . .	178	12	7	0	4	3	5	0	0	33	25	42	0

The *Aetna* has more elision per 100 verses than the *Eclogues*, and less than the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*; which is inconclusive. But it has far too much of T, and less of M and of L than any similar unit of Vergil; only some short *Eclogues* equal the small amount of one or of the other. On the basis of the kinds of elision, the *Aetna* is not by Vergil.

<sup>1</sup> Notably by Prof. R. S. Radford, in *T. A. P. A.* LI, 146 ff., LII, 148 ff.; *A. J. P.* XLIV, 1 ff., 230 ff., 293 ff. His statistics are used to draw conclusions without regard to the fact that they are based on too small a total to establish a norm for valid conclusions.

The *Ciris* is, in amount of elision, slightly above the *Aetna*, and stands midway between the *Eclogues* on the one hand and the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* on the other. In kinds of elision, it agrees very closely with the average for the *Eclogues* as a whole. In view of the recent argument of Mr. A. R. Bellinger ("Catullus and the *Ciris*," in *T. A. P. A.* LIII, 73-82), that the *Ciris*, showing many imitations of the *Epyllion* of Catullus (64), can be by none other than Vergil himself, since no other poet could have pillaged his brother poet's production so freely without evoking criticism, we give the figures for the *Eclogues*, the *Ciris*, and Catullus, 64. They show that the *Ciris* is closer to the Catullan poem in amount of elision, and equally near to both in kinds of elision:

	Total	Elisions		Number of Elisions					Relative Percentage				
	Verses	Total	%	T	Q	M	S	L	T	Q	M	S	L
Verg. <i>Ecl.</i> ....	829	242	29	17	34	58	76	57	7	14	24	31	24
<i>Ciris</i> .....	541	241	45	17	45	52	82	45	7	19	21	34	19
Cat. 64.....	408	138	34	7	23	39	44	25	5	17	28	32	18

The *Culex* has so little elision that on this score alone one would deny its Vergilian authorship. With so few elisions, it may safely be compared only with the single *Eclogues*, none of which has as many elisions as the *Culex*. Taken thus, it has too much of Q and too little of M and of L. It was clearly not by Vergil.

When we consider Ovid as a possible author of these poems, we find that the *Culex*, but for a slight deficiency in T, agrees with the norm of his elegiacs, both in kinds of elision and in elisions per 100 verses. The *Ciris* has far too much elision for Ovid, and falls outside the Ovidian range in T, M, and L. The *Aetna*, which could hardly be a work of the frivolous poet of love, falls within the range of the elegiacs for the kinds of elision, but has far more elision per hundred verses than any section of the works of Ovid.

Now let us look for a moment at the shorter poems. If comparable at all, they may be compared with the range of the *Eclogues*. The asterisks in this table show the items in which the separate poems fall outside that range:



	Elisions per 100 Verses	T	Q	M	S	L
<i>Moretum</i> .....	*	*	*		*	
<i>Dirae</i> .....				*	*	
<i>Lydia</i> .....		*	*	*	*	*
<i>Copa</i> .....			*	*	*	*
<i>Priapea</i> .....	*				*	
<i>Catalepton</i> .....						
<i>Est et non</i> .....	*	*	*	*	*	
<i>Vir bonus</i> .....	*				*	*
<i>Maecenas</i> .....	*		*			*

The *Catalepton* selections, being a number of short poems, should properly be considered separately; even collectively, their number of elisions is not very great, and there is no certainty that they are by one single author.

So far as the dactyls of the first four feet of the verse are concerned, that did not prove to be a very illuminating criterion. Selected portions of Vergil's unquestioned works, of sufficient length to be fairly compared with the longer poems of the Appendix, gave from 204 dactyls per 100 verses, down to 171 dactyls; similar portions of Ovid's works, wherein only the hexameter verses of the elegiacs were considered, yielded from 208 to 234 dactyls per 100 verses. The longer poems of the Appendix in no case exceeded 192 dactyls, which is a fair argument against a possible Ovidian authorship. The table follows:

	Verses Examined	Dactyls in First Four Feet	
		Total	Per 100 Verses
VERGIL, <i>Ecl.</i> 1-5.....	420	790	188
<i>Ecl.</i> 6-10 .....	409	835	204
<i>Georg.</i> I.....	400	706	176
<i>Aen.</i> I.....	400	700	175
<i>Aen.</i> VII.....	400	716	179
<i>Aen.</i> XII.....	400	686	171
OVID, <i>Am.</i> I.....	389	828	208
<i>Her.</i> 1-4.....	376	880	234
<i>A. A.</i> I.....	386	844	216
<i>Met.</i> I.....	600	1308	218
<i>Met.</i> XV.....	400	924	231
<i>Aetna</i> .....	646	1094	169
<i>Ciris</i> .....	541	939	173
<i>Culex</i> .....	411	790	192
<i>Moretum</i> .....	124	234	189
<i>Dirae</i> .....	103	172	167
<i>Lydia</i> .....	80	137	171
<i>Copa</i> .....	19	34	179
<i>Catalepton</i> .....	61	110	180
<i>Est et non</i> .....	25	49	196
<i>Vir bonus</i> .....	26	49	182
<i>Maecenas</i> .....	89	169	190

In conclusion, I think that it can be said

1. That the Roman poets had likes and dislikes in the kinds of elision, and also, though less strikingly so, in the absolute amount of elision.

2. That these likes and dislikes may be used as an auxiliary criterion in matters of disputed authorship.

3. That with elision as criterion, the *Ciris* may be by Vergil, but may not be by Ovid; the *Culex* might be by Ovid, but is not by Vergil; the *Aetna* is by neither.

4. That with the number of dactyls in the first four feet of the hexameter as criterion, all of these poems might be by Vergil, and none might be by Ovid.

5. That the other poems of the Appendix are too brief for evaluation by these criteria, though what evidence they do present is against either Vergilian or Ovidian authorship. Only in the collection of *Catalepton* do we find agreement with Vergilian practices of elision.

I would emphasize that I regard these criteria merely as auxiliary to other criteria, although useful as being reasonably objective. My chief interest in the conclusion is that I find in Professor Fairclough's article (*T. A. P. A.* LIII, 32) the demonstration that in vocabulary the *Ciris* approaches more nearly than any other of the poems of the Appendix the poems of unquestioned Vergilian authorship. This is precisely the result of the present study, as well.



VII—*Valerius Cato*

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Interest in the *poetae novi* has been quickened in recent years by the attempts that have been made to include the young Vergil within their ranks. One of the most interesting and most baffling of this talented school of poets was the "Latin Siren," P. Valerius Cato,<sup>1</sup> upon whom modern scholarship seems inclined to lay a large share of the responsibility for the neoteric movement at Rome. It is the purpose of this paper to give an impartial examination of the scanty facts that are known in regard to the life and activities of this poet-teacher. Since we are confining ourselves to facts, we must refrain from any attempt to build up a romantic biography from the *Lydia* and *Dirae* of the Vergilian Appendix, as some have tried to do.<sup>2</sup> Such an attempt rests upon a double fallacy, first that of assuming Cato's authorship of these poems as indubitably established, and second that of mistaking these works for biography instead of poetry.

The chief source for our knowledge of Valerius Cato is the brief biography recorded by Suetonius in the eleventh chapter of the *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. He is twice mentioned elsewhere in the same work (chap. 2 and 4); once by Ovid (*Trist.* II, 436); and again in the eight lines prefixed to Horace, *Serm.* I, 10, commonly regarded as spurious but of undoubted antiquity. Finally it is at least a plausible conjecture that the fifty-sixth poem of Catullus is addressed to him.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The praenomen is found only in the index to the *de Grammaticis*. This index was compiled from the text long after Suetonius' time, but before it had become as corrupt as it is at present.

<sup>2</sup> Notably Naeke, *Carmina Valerii Catonis cum Augusti Ferdinandi Naekii annotationibus* . . . cura Ludovici Schopeni, Bonnae, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hillscher, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Suppl. XVIII (1892), 374, identifies with Cato the Valerius mentioned by Cicero in connection with the grammarian

Suetonius wrote some hundred and fifty years after Cato's time, so it is well to remember that many men of the late Republic who enjoyed considerable fame in their own day had by Suetonius' time become almost, or entirely, forgotten. A striking example of this is found in the fact that Suetonius deems it necessary to designate T. Pomponius Atticus as the man to whom Cicero's letters are addressed.<sup>4</sup> Hence a brief consideration must be given to Suetonius' own sources. There is no evidence that any book on famous Roman teachers had been written before Suetonius,<sup>5</sup> but fortunately the biographer is liberal in quoting the authorities for his statements.

Valerius Cato's detractors claimed that he was of Gallic origin, and the freedman of a certain Bursenus, while Cato himself in a little book called *Indignatio*, or *Protest*, maintained that he was free-born, but had been left an orphan, and for that reason had been the more easily robbed of his patrimony during the lawlessness of the Sullan period. All of this information was contained in the *Indignatio*, which Suetonius must have read. Next we are told that Cato taught many boys of prominent families, and was regarded as a very capable teacher, particularly for boys with poetic talent. Two anonymous verses are then quoted to bear out this statement. Furthermore, in the verses of Bibaculus quoted in another connection there is reference to Cato's great erudition, to his prominent position as a teacher and grammarian, and to his ability as a poet. However, the biographer does not cite his authority for the statement about Cato's pupils. This may have been but a logical inference on the part of Suetonius, but I think it more probable that he had some further information on this illustrious member of the profession with which he himself seems at one time to have been

Curtius Nicias. See *ad Att.* xii, 51, 1 (Tusculum, 45 B.C.): "venit etiam Nicias, et Valerium hodie audiebam esse venturum"; and 53: "hic nobiscum sunt Nicias et Valerius." The use of *audiebam* may indicate that Cicero had heard of Cato's expected arrival from the servants at the latter's Tusculan villa.

<sup>4</sup> *Tib.* 7, 2; *de Gram.* 16.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie* (Leipzig, 1901), 141.



identified.<sup>6</sup> Cato may well have mentioned the popularity of his school in one of his grammatical treatises or in the *Indignatio*. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that Suetonius does not give the names of any of the *multos et nobiles* who were Cato's pupils, though he frequently does this in recounting the lives of the grammarians and rhetoricians.

Aside from the *Indignatio*, Suetonius says that Cato was the author of grammatical treatises and of poems. Of the poems the *Lydia* and *Diana* enjoyed the greatest popularity. A verse of Ticida in praise of the *Lydia*, and one of Cinna commemorating the *Diana* are quoted. No authority is given for the statement that he wrote other poems. It is probable that copies of Cato's poems were still extant in Suetonius' day, though I believe the fact of his deeming it necessary to identify the *Diana* and *Lydia* by quoting the verses of Cinna and Ticida indicates that they were no longer read.<sup>7</sup> Suetonius, as a teacher, must have been familiar with the grammatical treatises, or at least must have frequently seen Cato quoted in the treatises of later grammatical writers.

Finally our biographer says that Cato lived to an advanced old age, that he became wretchedly poor,<sup>8</sup> and dwelt in a hovel after his Tusculan villa had been taken over by his creditors. Then follow fifteen verses of Bibaculus substantiating these statements, with but one slight exception. According to Suetonius Cato lived *ad extremam senectam*, while the words of Bibaculus are *ad summam prope nutriant senectam*. Cato was, of course, still living when these verses were written. Is Suetonius guilty of a slight inaccuracy, or had he secured from some other source the information that Cato lived on for a number of years after the composition of these verses? Cato himself is given as the authority for the

<sup>6</sup> Macé, *Essai sur Suétone* (Paris, 1900), 53 ff.

<sup>7</sup> There may be some question as to the exact force of the words *praecipue probantur*. I believe the present tense to be used with reference to the two verses quoted, rather than to Suetonius' own time.

<sup>8</sup> I regard the manuscript reading, *vixit ad extremam senectam, sed in summam pauperiem et paene inopiam*, as correct.



statement about him contained in the second chapter of the *de Grammaticis*, and a letter of Messalla Corvinus for the one in the fourth chapter.

Regarding the place of Cato's birth, it is not clear whether his denial of his detractors' claims extended to the imputation of Gallic origin. It is commonly assumed that he came from Cisalpine Gaul, the home of so many of the *poetae novi*. The chronology of his life presents difficulties, and cannot be definitely established. In general Suetonius has arranged the biographies of the grammarians and rhetoricians in chronological order, with reference to the period in which they enjoyed fame as teachers. The first teacher of grammar to rise to fame was Sevius Nicanor (chap. 5), about whose time nothing is known save that in his *Satire* final *s* did not make position. The next in order is Aurelius Opillus (6), who closed his school in order to follow Rutilius Rufus into exile (92 B.C.). M. Antonius Gniphos (7) was private tutor to Caesar during the latter's boyhood (presumably around 90 B.C.). He was still teaching in 66, for Cicero during his praetorship declaimed under him; but he could not have lived much after that time, since he did not pass his fiftieth year. Orbilius (9) opened his school in Rome in his fiftieth year during the consulship of Cicero (63 B.C.). Ateius Philologus (10) was the teacher of Appius and Pulcher Claudius. He was an intimate friend of the historian Sallust, and after Sallust's death (35 B.C.) lived on intimate terms with Asinius Pollio. I am convinced that Mommsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 181, is correct in identifying these Claudii with the two Appii who appeared as accusers against Milo in 52.<sup>9</sup> They were sons of C. Claudius, brother of the notorious Publius, but the younger had been adopted by his uncle Appius.<sup>10</sup> The elder evidently began his public career very young, for Cicero in 58 expressed fear that he would bring accusation against

<sup>9</sup> Asconius, in *Milon.*, pp. 29 f., 34, 36, Kiessling-Schoell.

<sup>10</sup> Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, II, 320 ff.; Münzer in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *Claudius*, 298 f.



his brother Quintus (*ad Att.* III, 17, 1). We may, then, roughly place the period in which the two Claudii received Ateius' instruction from 64 to 56.

The life of Valerius Cato comes immediately after that of Ateius Philologus. It would therefore seem that Suetonius places the period of his rise to fame as a teacher between 60 and 50 B.C. Unfortunately, however, it is just at this point that there is a serious disturbance of the chronological order of the *de Grammaticis*. Immediately after the life of Valerius Cato follow two very brief chapters, one telling of Cornelius Epicadus, the other of Staberius Eros. We are told that the former was the freedman of the dictator Sulla, while the latter taught Brutus and Cassius, and was said to have given instruction without pay to the children of the victims of the Sullan proscriptions. This suddenly carries us backward some fifteen or twenty years. In the rest of the *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, beginning with Curtius Nicia (14), the chronological arrangement is consistently maintained. I know of no satisfactory explanation of the difficulty. It is, however, significant that the notices of Cornelius Epicadus and Staberius Eros are exceedingly meagre.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the former no mention is made of his teaching, which is contrary to Suetonius' usual practice.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in the beginning of the chapter on Staberius Eros the manuscripts are very corrupt. It is quite possible that the text has suffered some serious damage. The lives of Cornelius Epicadus and Staberius Eros may have been abridged and transposed from their original position, but naturally this is incapable of proof.

It is to be regretted that it is right at the point where Cato's biography is recounted that this disturbance of the chronological order occurs, for could the period of his activity be

<sup>11</sup> The only other chapter that is so brief is the one on Scribonius Aphrodisius (19).

<sup>12</sup> No direct mention is made of the teaching of Curtius Nicia (14), but there is an allusion to his grammatical writings. In the case of M. Pomponius Marcellus (22), his teaching is implied in the use of the word *interdum* (*nam interdum et causas agebat*).

definitely established, we should be better able to decide his position in the Alexandrian movement at Rome. Modern scholarship has assigned to him an importance in connection with this movement that is quite unwarranted by the facts under our control. The accepted theory of his position among the *poetae novi* has been built around the two anonymous verses quoted by Suetonius:

Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren,  
Qui solus legit<sup>13</sup> ac facit poetas.

To state the case in a slightly exaggerated form, just because some wag of the time declared that Cato created poets, modern critics assume that he was the head of the Alexandrian movement at Rome; that Catullus, Calvus, Cinna, Ticius, and others of their circle were probably among the *multos et nobiles* who attended his school, and that it was due to the influence of their teacher that they turned their attention to Alexandrian models. Schanz (*Röm. Lit.* I, 2<sup>3</sup>, pp. 58 and 65) introduces him as "der Führer der neuen Richtung" and "das Haupt der Dichterschule." Likewise Teuffel (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* I<sup>6</sup>, pp. 465 and 515) states that he was regarded as "Haupt der neoterischen Dichterschule." Ribbeck (*Röm. Dicht.* I<sup>2</sup>, 309) asserts that Cato, when in the middle twenties, formed the "Mittelpunkt einer jungen Dichtergeneration." Norden<sup>14</sup> calls him the "Begründer" of the new school. Professor W. M. Lindsay (*A. J. P.* XLII [1921], 339) speaks of "that wonderful transformation of Roman poetry by a professor and his pupils."

The evidence for placing Valerius Cato in the circle of the *poetae novi* is so clear as to need no discussion, but I cannot find the slightest authority for regarding him as the founder, or even the leader of the movement. Cinna speaks of *nostrae Dictynnae Catonis* quite in the same manner as Catullus (95) says *Zmyrna mei Cinnae*. Bibaculus uses the words *mei*

<sup>13</sup> *Legit* is used for *praelegit*, and refers to the teacher's reading of the poets to his classes with his commentaries on the passages read.

<sup>14</sup> *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, I<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), 344.



*Catonis.* Certainly there is nothing in their words to indicate that Cato was older than they, that he had been their teacher, or that he was regarded as the head of their coterie. No one would maintain that there is anything in the fifty-sixth poem of Catullus to show that it was addressed to an older man and a former teacher. One would prefer to think that it was not. Finally in the fragment of the letter of Messalla Corvinus quoted by Suetonius, *de Gram.* 4, Cato is put in the same group with Ticida and Bibaculus, but nothing more is implied.

Could we be positive that Cato first acquired fame as a teacher between 60 and 50 B.C.,<sup>15</sup> there would be good evidence that he was not the teacher of Catullus and his circle (for they would have been ready for the school of the *grammaticus* some fifteen or twenty years earlier), and that he could not have been regarded as the originator or head of the Alexandrian school of poetry at Rome. If the dates mentioned above are accepted, we find a younger generation of poets that may well have been the pupils of whom Suetonius speaks: Cornelius Gallus (b. 69–68), Messalla Corvinus (b. ca. 64), perhaps Vergil himself. Possibly Horace's father transferred him from the school of Orbilius to that of Cato, that his poetic talent might receive full encouragement. As Cato probably kept his school for many years, Tibullus and Propertius may well have been his pupils. At this point it is interesting to note that we have a reference to Cato in connection with Messalla Corvinus.<sup>16</sup> In a certain letter (Suet. *de Gram.* 4) Messalla Corvinus stated that "he had no dealings with Furius Bibaculus, nor yet with Ticida and Cato the school-teacher." Is this a reminiscence of a literary feud? Had the pupil incurred the wrath of the master, just as in Alexandria Apollonius had won the enmity of his master Callimachus by committing the unpardonable sin of writing a

<sup>15</sup> There is, of course, the possibility that Suetonius himself did not know to just what period Cato belonged.

<sup>16</sup> The *Ciris* is dedicated to Messalla, and he is best known as a patron of the Augustan poets. However, there can be no doubt that he himself wrote poetry (*Catalepton*, ix; Plin. *Ep.* v, 3, 5).

μέγα βιβλίον? If the second of the poems of Bibaculus (Suet. *de Gram.* 11) is addressed to Cornelius Gallus, it may indicate that Gallus had a special interest in Valerius Cato.

The date of Cato's birth is important only in so far as it has a bearing on the period of his literary and pedagogical activity. He claimed that he had been left a *pupillus*, and for that reason was helpless to cope with those who robbed him of his property during the lawlessness of the Sullan period. The term *licentia Sullani temporis* must refer to the proscriptions and confiscations in 82–81 B.C. Suetonius elsewhere uses *Sullanis temporibus* with special reference to the victims of the proscriptions,<sup>17</sup> and the words are frequently used in this sense by Cicero.<sup>18</sup> Pomponius' definition of *pupillus* is as follows: "Pupillus est, qui, cum impubes est, desiit in patris potestate esse aut morte aut emancipatione (*Digesta*, L, 16, 239)." For males the age of puberty was fourteen. The logical inference to be drawn from Cato's statement is that he was still a *pupillus* at the time of the Sullan proscriptions, and through the chicanery of someone, possibly of his guardian, was deprived of his heritage. This would make it possible to place the date of his birth as early as 95, but, on the other hand, it could be put seven or eight years later. The fact that there was room for doubt regarding the civil status of his family indicates, I believe, that he was very young at the time of the confusion which attended Sulla's return. Teuffel, *op. cit.*, p. 466, assuming twenty-five as the age of majority,<sup>19</sup> places Cato's birth around 100. He gives three reasons for believing that the date cannot be much later: (1) Cato was a pupil of Vettius Philocomus, who had himself

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* 13: "Sunt qui tradant tanta eum honestate praeditum, ut Sullanis temporibus proscriptorum liberos gratis et sine mercede ulla in disciplinam receperit."

<sup>18</sup> *Pro Dom.* 17, 43; 30, 79; 31, 83; *ad Fam.* XIII, 4, 1.

<sup>19</sup> The statement that a person under twenty-five was a minor is misleading, at least for Cato's time. The practice of appointing a permanent *curator* for persons *sui iuris* between the age of puberty and twenty-five did not come into being until later (Buckland, *Text-Book of Roman Law* [Cambridge, 1921], 171 ff.).



been a friend of the satirist Lucilius (Suet. *de Gram.* 2); (2) as a teacher of the *neumodische Dichter* Cato must have been considerably older than they; (3) Furius Bibaculus lived to see Cato advanced in years, while the tone of his verses indicates that Cato was several years his senior.

Nothing definite can be drawn from the first argument, for we do not know the time of Lucilius' death, nor his age at that time. Hieronymus<sup>20</sup> says that he died in his forty-sixth year in 103–102 B.C. Scholars are inclined to accept this date for his death, but are agreed that he must have been more than forty-six at the time. When once we reject Hieronymus' testimony we are lost in a hopeless maze of conjecture. M. Haupt<sup>21</sup> seeks to establish 180 as the year of Lucilius' birth, attributing Hieronymus' error to the similarity in the names of the consuls for 180 and 148.<sup>22</sup> He is followed by Marx<sup>23</sup> and others. Cichorius,<sup>24</sup> however, shows that to place the satirist's birth so early presents quite as many difficulties in the other direction as to accept the evidence of Hieronymus. He assumes a transposition of the x of the numeral, and believes that the correct reading is LXVI instead of XLVI. An equally plausible conjecture is that the x should be deleted, and that we should read LVI.<sup>25</sup> As a man could

<sup>20</sup> Ad Ol. 169, 2: "Gaius Lucilius satyrarum scriptor Neapoli moritur ac publico funere effertur anno aetatis XLVI." The Codex Amandinus places the notice under Ol. 169, 3. Ad Ol. 158, 1 (148–147): "Lucilius poeta nascitur." Codd. B and P place the notice under Ol. 158, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Päd.* CVII, 72.

<sup>22</sup> The consuls for 180 were A. Postumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso, for 148, Sp. Postumius Albinus and L. Calpurnius Piso.

<sup>23</sup> *C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae*, Lipsiae, 1904–1905, p. XXII ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (Berlin, 1908), 7 ff.

<sup>25</sup> A mark in the form of a cross, to set off the numeral from the rest of the text, to call attention to a marginal note, or for some other purpose, may have been mistaken by a scribe for the numeral x. In the facsimile of a page from a Paris Hilarius Ms. (5th cent. ?) given by Chatelain, *Uncialis Scriptura*, pl. 10, a mark resembling an x is found in the subscription preceding the numeral VIII. A careless scribe might easily have mistaken the number for XVIII. This particular mark apparently serves merely to fill a blank space. Cichorius objects to allowing Lucilius only fifty-six years at the time of his death, because Horace, *Serm.* II, 1, 30, speaks of him as a *senex*. This should not be pressed

be a *familiaris* of another and yet be many years his junior, there is no reason why friends of Lucilius could not have been teaching as late as 80 B.C. (about the time Valerius Cato would have attended the school of the *grammaticus* if we place his birth around the year 90), if Lucilius were but fifty-six at the time of his death in 103-102, nor would it be impossible if he were as much as sixty-six. Certainly the chronology of Lucilius is too obscure to permit us to deduce an argument therefrom.

There is, however, another piece of evidence to be considered in this connection. The grammarian Pompeius Lenaeus was a pupil of Laelius Archelaus, who had likewise been a friend of Lucilius. Lenaeus, after the death of his patron Pompeius and of Pompeius' sons, opened his school in the *Carinae*. Sextus Pompeius was killed late in 35 B.C. (Dru-mann-Groebe, *op. cit.* iv, 590). Lenaeus opened his school after this, and the position of his biography in the *de Grammaticis* (chap. 15) is consistent with this date. Had Lenaeus been born as early as 100 he would have been past sixty-five when he opened his school. It is, no doubt, possible that a man could begin a career as a teacher at this age and acquire fame, but a man of fifty or fifty-five would have a much better chance of making a success of the venture. My conjecture would be that these two friends of Lucilius, Laelius Archelaus and Vettius Philocomus, were Roman knights, who lost their property during this same *Sullani temporis licentia*, and were forced to take pupils in order to gain a livelihood.

Teuffel's second argument has already been answered. By the *neumodische Dichter* he undoubtedly means Catullus, Calvus, and the rest of their group. We have absolutely no evidence that Cato was their teacher.

Let us now examine the verses of Bibaculus. In the first place, I cannot see that their tone implies that the author is

too closely. Horace had probably never taken the trouble to investigate the date of Lucilius' birth. The satirist belonged to a past age, and it was quite natural for Horace to regard him as *old*.



speaking of one considerably older than himself, but, even if it does, we know nothing of the age of Bibaculus, unless we follow Hieronymus, who places his birth in 103.<sup>26</sup> In that case Bibaculus was born three years before the date which Teuffel accepts for Cato. Suetonius quotes two separate poems of Bibaculus, written at different times. The one that is quoted in the second place is first in point of time. It is addressed to a certain Gallus. Bibaculus says that Cato's Tusculan villa has been offered for sale by his creditors. He expresses his wonder that the peerless teacher, the prince of grammarians, the best of poets could solve all questions of grammatical exegesis, but could not solve the problem of paying his debts.<sup>27</sup> Nothing is said in this poem about Cato having reached old age. If Cornelius Gallus is the one addressed, the verses were written before his death in 26, and probably before he left Rome for the battle of Actium in 31. If the verses were written about 35, Cato was then fifty-five (if born in 90), that is, he was past middle life, and his fortune was on the wane.

The other poem describes Cato's life in his humble cottage after the sale of his villa. He is said to have *almost* reached advanced old age. Did we know the date of Bibaculus' death, we could fix a *terminus ante quem* for these verses. If Cato was born in 90, he would have been sixty in the year 30, and it need occasion no surprise if at any time after this date an epigrammatist describes him as having almost reached advanced old age.<sup>28</sup>

Among the writings of Cato Suetonius mentions the *Indignatio*, grammatical treatises, and poems, of which the *Diana* and *Lydia* were the most famous. Furthermore, from

<sup>26</sup> All that we know of Bibaculus would identify him with those who were born many years after 103 (Teuffel, *l.c.*, 440).

<sup>27</sup> It is impossible to reproduce in English the pun on the word *nomen*.

<sup>28</sup> But little can be gleaned from the verse of Bibaculus on Orbilius (*de Gram.* 9). Orbilius lived until about 14 B.C., but had lost his memory long before his death. Hence this verse may have been written any time during the twenty years preceding his death.

the eight verses <sup>29</sup> prefixed to Horace, *Serm.* I, 10, it is learned that he was a champion of Lucilius and was planning a new edition of that poet.<sup>30</sup> It is not known whether the edition was actually published. Suetonius may have included Cato's Lucilian studies among the grammatical treatises, of which nothing is known. It is a little difficult to see just what the rather uncouth verses of the satirist could have had in common with the finished productions of the Alexandrian poets. Possibly Cato's Lucilian studies represent an earlier period in his career, but I am rather of the opinion that they were for professional purposes, to supply material for the instruction of his pupils. As a Latin grammarian,<sup>31</sup> he could teach only Latin poets. As custom forbade making use of contemporary poets,<sup>32</sup> he doubtless regarded Lucilius as the most modern and the best that Latin literature had produced before his own generation.

The subject-matter of the *Indignatio* has already been mentioned. Whether the book was in prose or poetry is idle

<sup>29</sup> I cannot believe that these verses were written by Horace, at least as a part of the tenth satire in its present form. Nevertheless we may accept the information they contain about Cato. If the verses were written in Horace's time, the author had direct knowledge of Cato's studies. If they were written later, he had access to some source that is lost to us. The obscurity of the verses is to be attributed to the corruption of the manuscripts rather than to the incoherence of their author. Surely the comparison is between Cato and Lucilius, and not between Cato and some mysterious third person; and the *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus* must be Cato himself. If we read *ille* for *illo* in l. 4, *est* for *et* in l. 5, and *excoriatus* for *exoratus* in l. 6, the verses assume what I believe to have been the meaning of the author. (The emendations have, of course, been previously proposed.) *Ille* in ll. 3 and 4 would in each case refer to Cato, and after the comparatives *melior* and *subtilior* we should understand *Lucilio*.

<sup>30</sup> The natural meaning of *emendare parat* is, 'he is planning to publish a corrected edition,' as Schanz maintains. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* xli (1886), 554, thinks the words are merely equivalent to *emendare studet*, *emendationi operam dat*, *emendaturus est*, without reference to the publication of an edition.

<sup>31</sup> Suetonius' book deals only with Latin grammarians and rhetoricians, i.e. grammarians teaching the Latin poets, and rhetoricians declaiming in the Latin tongue.

<sup>32</sup> Q. Caecilius Epirota, who opened his school after the death of Cornelius Gallus (26 B.C.), was the first to begin the reading of contemporary poets in his classes (*de Gram.* 16).



speculation. The title calls to mind the book of another teacher, the *περὶ Ἀλγέος*<sup>33</sup> of Orbilius, a book of protest directed against parents because of their neglect of their children and the preposterous demands they made of the teacher.

One of Cato's two famous poems Suetonius twice calls the *Diana*, while Cinna in his verse styles it *Dictynna*:

Saecula permaneat nostri Dictynna Catonis.

The name *Dictynna* gives a clue to the content of the poem. Dictynna was a Cretan goddess of the chase, and the protectress of sailors. One legend gives the name originally to Britomartis, who, after being pursued by Minos through the hills of Crete for nine months, finally in despair cast herself into the sea, but was saved by falling into the net of some fishermen, whence she received the name of *Dictynna*.<sup>34</sup> Later the name was transferred to Diana herself in her capacity of the moon-goddess.<sup>35</sup> Doubtless this was the legend treated by Valerius Cato. The accepted theory that the *Diana* was an epyllion may be questioned. It may well have been a narrative-elegy, similar to the *Αἴτια* of Callimachus, the aetiological elegies of Propertius, and the *Fasti* of Ovid. I venture to make this suggestion because of the discrepancy in the name. This would easily be explained if Cato began his poem by stating that he was going to tell why Diana sometimes went by the name of Dictynna.<sup>36</sup>

The *Lydia* of Valerius Cato must be discussed in connection with the *Lydia* and *Dirae* of the Vergilian Appendix. These

<sup>33</sup> This is my emendation of the manuscript reading (*de Gram.* 9) *perialogos* or *perialepos*. Toup's *περιαλγής* is generally accepted.

<sup>34</sup> The story is told by Callimachus, *Hymn.* 3, 189 ff.; and allusion is made to it in the *Ciris*, 294 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Call., *Hymn.* 3, 204-205: Οὐπι ἄνασσ' εὐῶπι φαεσφόρε, καὶ δὲ σὲ κέλνῃς|Κρη-  
ταέες καλέουσιν ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ νύμφης. *Ciris*, 304-305: "alii, quo notior esse,  
Dictynam dixere tuo de nomine Lunam." Cf. the verses quoted by Charisius,  
(*Gram. Lat.* 1, 287 K): "Luna, deum quae sola vides periuria vulgi,| seu  
Cretaea magis seu tu Dictynna vocaris."

<sup>36</sup> Naeke, *op. cit.* 272, says that Cato may have explained in the poem why Diana and Dictynna were the same, but he does not make the suggestion that the *Diana* was a narrative-elegy.

two poems are found in the manuscripts of the minor works attributed to Vergil as a single hexameter poem of 183 verses entitled *Dirae*.<sup>37</sup> Scaliger was the first to assign the verses to Valerius Cato (*Appendix Virgilio*, Lugduni, 1573). Fr. Jacobs,<sup>38</sup> without questioning the authorship of Cato, shows that the title *Dirae* is suited only to the first 103 lines, while the remaining eighty constitute a separate poem, to which he gives the name of *Lydia*. This much is today unquestioned. The authorship of Cato was generally accepted, until Merkel<sup>39</sup> cast doubt upon it. He was followed by M. Haupt, *Opuscula*, I, 119, K. F. Hermann, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Göttingen, 1848), VI, 112, R. Reitzenstein,<sup>40</sup> and others. M. Rothstein<sup>41</sup> not only denies the authorship of Cato, but attempts to show that the two poems were written by entirely different authors. On the other hand, supporters of Scaliger's hypothesis have not been lacking. The *Dirae* and *Lydia* were edited under the name of Valerius Cato by Naeke<sup>42</sup> in 1847, and by Eskuche in 1889.<sup>43</sup> Ribbeck in his *Römische Dichtung*, I<sup>2</sup>, 310, contrary to his earlier opinion (*Appendix Vergiliana*, 22), favors Cato as the author. Likewise R. Ellis, *A. J. P.* XI (1890), 1 ff., supports Cato's claims, while in recent years the "Latin Siren" has found a staunch champion in Professor Lindsay.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> A complete account of the manuscripts is given by Vollmer, *Sitzb. bayer. Akad.*, 1908, Heft XI.

<sup>38</sup> *Bibl. d. alten Lit. u. Kunst*, IX (1792); also in his *Vermischte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1834), v, 639 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristium libri quinque et Ibis* (Berolini, 1837), 363 ff. (Prolusio ad Ibin).

<sup>40</sup> *Drei Vermuthungen z. Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (Sonderausgabe aus der *Festschr. f. Th. Mommsen*, Marburg, 1894.) I have been unable to examine this work.

<sup>41</sup> *Herm.* XXIII (1888), 508 ff., *Woch. kl. Phil.* IX (1892), 1088 ff.

<sup>42</sup> A posthumous edition from Naeke's manuscript by L. Schopen (see above, p. 98, n. 2).

<sup>43</sup> *De Valerio Catone deque Diris et Lydia carminibus*, Marburg, 1889. Especially valuable because of its bibliography. I have been unable to secure a copy of the edition of F. C. Goebbel, Warendorpii, 1865, while I especially regret that Patin's *Valérius Caton*, St. Germain, 1869, does not seem to be in any of the libraries of this country.

<sup>44</sup> *Class. Rev.* XXXII (1918), 62; *A. J. P.* XLII (1921), 339; XLIV (1923), 53 f.



It is impossible here to enter into the arguments in detail. In favor of Cato's authorship of the *Lydia* the case may briefly be stated as follows. Cato was a follower of the Alexandrian school and wrote a poem called *Lydia*. Since he is mentioned among the erotic poets by Ovid, *Trist.* II, 436, it is assumed that Lydia was the name of his mistress. In the Vergilian Appendix we find an erotic poem addressed to a Lydia, written in the style of the Alexandrian poets, which conforms admirably to Ovid's characterization of Cato's work as *leve opus*. The case for the *Dirae* rests upon its manuscript connection with the *Lydia*, upon the fact that a girl named Lydia is twice mentioned in the poem, and upon the possibility that the situation depicted therein of a man being driven from his estate corresponds to a similar event in Cato's own life.<sup>45</sup>

It is, in my opinion, lack of positive evidence rather than any accumulation of negative evidence which renders it impossible to assign these poems to Cato with any degree of certainty. Most of the arguments advanced against his authorship are based upon the fallacy that the poet must needs be recounting history. I refer to such arguments as the one that the author of the *Dirae* represents himself as being dispossessed because of a division of land among veterans, whereas Suetonius' account indicates that it was rather some chicanery in the courts that robbed Cato of his patrimony;<sup>46</sup> or again, that Cato must have been a boy when he lost his property, whereas the author of the *Dirae* is represented as a man. Most absurd of all is Rothstein's contention that Cato is excluded from the authorship of the *Dirae* because the words (l. 9) "*Trinacriae sterilescent gaudia vobis*" locate the estate in Sicily, whereas Cato was born in Gaul. According to the same process of reasoning Vergil did not write

<sup>45</sup> I regard this as the least significant of all, though by Scaliger and many others it was made the principal ground of rapport.

<sup>46</sup> There is nothing impossible in Ribbeck's supposition that Cato wrote the *Dirae* after the division of land among Octavian's soldiers in 41 B.C.; whereas the memory of a similar misfortune in his own youth may account for the extreme virulence of the poem.

the first Eclogue, since the country therein described is not the country around Mantua. The pastoral coloring of the *Dirae* accounts for the reference to Sicily, the home of bucolic poetry, and this should warn us against trying to read the author's biography into the poem. The same objection applies to Rothstein's argument that in the *Dirae* the poet has left his Lydia on the farm, and lost her forever, while in the *Lydia* it is she that has gone to the country and left the author behind in the city. Perhaps Lydia was but a creature of the poet's fancy, to be fitted in as the occasion required.

The arguments drawn from the supposed discrepancy between the extant *Lydia* and the description of Cato's poem given by Ticide,

Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber,

have scarcely more weight. Should it be maintained that a short poem of eighty lines cannot be called a *liber*, the obvious answer is that the *Lydia* we now have was but one of a group of poems published under the title of *Lydia*, like the *Cynthia* of Propertius. Again Ticide's verse may be thought to indicate that Cato's *Lydia*, like the *Zmyrna* of Helvius Cinna, was so full of recondite erudition that it taxed even the ingenuity of the learned. However, the word *docti* was a quasi-technical term applied to the *poetae novi*,<sup>47</sup> while *maxima cura* may mean the 'supreme passion,' not 'the greatest puzzle.'<sup>48</sup>

The *Lydia* of the Vergilian Appendix is unique among poems of the late Republican period,<sup>49</sup> in that it is an erotic poem written in hexameters. The strong pastoral coloring doubtless accounts for the meter, yet the type is very different from the *Bucolics* of Vergil. Could it be demonstrated that the *Lydia* was the "first attempt to reproduce in Latin the 'linked

<sup>47</sup> Merkel, *op. cit.* 363. Cf. Ellis, *Commentary on Catullus*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>48</sup> Ellis, *A. J. P.* xi, 2.

<sup>49</sup> It is inconceivable to me that "a neurotic and sentimental pupil of Propertius," as Professor Frank (*Vergil, a Biography* [New York, 1922], 131) thinks the author to have been, would not have employed the elegiac meter.



sweetness' of the Alexandrian Pastoral," as Professor Lindsay declares it to be, it would have an important bearing on the history of Latin poetry. Skutsch in his study of the tenth Eclogue<sup>50</sup> advances a theory, which he freely admits has only conjectural value, that Gallus interspersed his elegies with short bucolic poems in hexameters. May the *Lydia* have formed a part of such a mixed group of poems as Skutsch imagines; or may the earliest Roman erotic poetry have been entirely in hexameter verse with pronounced pastoral coloring? The bucolic element is very marked in Tibullus. The theory that the Latin erotic elegy was not drawn directly from Greek models, but was the creation of the Roman elegiac poets developed from the Hellenistic epigram, has found its supporters.<sup>51</sup> If such a theory is deserving of consideration, possibly the embryo of the Latin elegy is not to be sought in the Hellenistic epigram alone, but in the bucolic poetry as well. Poems like the *Lydia* may have been the immediate forerunners of the elegies of Cornelius Gallus.

Much can be said in support of Lindsay's statement that the *Lydia* is a professorial poem, packed with the mannerisms which Cato taught his class; for certainly its eighty lines are crowded with the mannerisms of the *poetae novi*. The *Lydia* is, indeed, "the most careful and finished of poems," as Lindsay declares. One recognizes in it the λεπταὶ ῥήσεις, such as Callimachus, *Ep.* 29, admired in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus. All of the rhetorical devices in which the Alexandrians delighted are found in it: anaphora, repetition of words within the same sentence, parentheses, parataxis, rhetorical questions. There are even three spondaic lines among the eighty (33, 47, 67). The poem abounds in mythological references, with that veiled, indirect allusion of which the Alexandrians were so fond.<sup>52</sup> Their affectation of a search for truth and accuracy

<sup>50</sup> *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig, 1901), 20 ff.

<sup>51</sup> F. Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.* LX (1905), 38 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, 8, p. 142 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Ariadne is called *Minoidis astrum* (49); the references to Europa and Danaë (26) and to Endymion (41) are veiled. The *novos amores* of Aurora are

is reflected in the words (25-26) "si fabula non vana est," and (34) "nisi vilia fama locuta est."<sup>53</sup> With the words "quae dicere longum est" (46), and "haec quoque praetereo" (49) the poet sounds the warning not to write a μέγα βιβλίον.

Professor Lindsay makes much of the argument that *Lydia* was by literary convention the peculiar property of Valerius Cato, and that no rival or imitator would have dared to steal the name. I do not find the argument convincing, for he adduces no evidence to show that the poets of that time were bound by such scruples. Moreover, Horace, though he was not, of course, a rival or imitator of Valerius Cato, did not hesitate to use the name of *Lydia*,<sup>54</sup> just as he uses the name of *Lycoris*,<sup>55</sup> which according to Lindsay should have been the peculiar property of Cornelius Gallus. Right here, however, it is well to stop and ask ourselves whether we really know that the *Lydia* of Valerius Cato was an erotic poem, or that it concerned itself with a woman of that name. To be sure, Cato is mentioned among the erotic poets by Ovid, but his *Lydia* is never mentioned by later writers in connection with the *Lesbia* of Catullus, the *Perilla* of Ticia, the *Lycoris* of Gallus, the *Delia* and *Nemesis* of Tibullus, the *Cynthia* of Propertius, and the *Corinna* of Ovid. The *Lydia* and *Diana* were but two of the poems which he wrote. The Alexandrian period of Greek literature was one of scientific scholarship, an age of research and cyclopaedic knowledge. The poets delved into antiquarian lore, and this was reflected not only in their treatment of their themes, but also in the actual choice of subject-matter. This is shown by the titles of three of the poems of Callimachus, Ἀργεῖος οἰκισμός, Ἀρκαδία, and Βράγχος; and again by the Μοῦσος of Euphorion. It is possible but not named (72); the love of Apollo for Daphne is symbolized by the laurel.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Callimachus, frag. 442: ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰδῶ; *Hymn.* 1, 4 ff., 59 ff.; *Ciris*, 54-91.

<sup>54</sup> *Carm.* 1, 8; 1, 13; 1, 25; III, 9. Hermann, *op. cit.*, has called attention to the fact that Horace uses the name, but it is manifestly unfair to bring the late poem *Lydia bella puella* into the argument.

<sup>55</sup> *Carm.* 1, 33.



ble that the erudite Valerius Cato followed such models in his *Lydia*, and that the poem dealt in some way with ancient lore appertaining to the country of Lydia. To make another suggestion among many possibilities, if the Lydia of the poem really was a woman, she may have been the *Lydia nurus* (so styled by Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 371). Surely Hercules plying the distaff of Omphale would have been a theme to delight the heart of a *novus poeta*. The title would be no more vague than  $\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi$ , the name of a poem by Euphorion.

The foregoing investigation has yielded but little that is positive in connection with the poet-teacher, but may contain some suggestions that will be helpful to the future historian of the *poetae novi*. Our information is too meagre and too vague to admit of definite conclusions, but the weight of evidence, I believe, points to Valerius Cato, not as the originator or head of the neoteric movement in Latin poetry, but as one of those who handed down the torch of Alexandrianism from the circle of Catullus and Calvus to those of a younger generation.

VIII.—*Hector's Fault in Honor*

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In a recent article (*T. A. P. A.* LIII, 52–62) the writer discussed the importance, in the plot of the *Iliad*, of the Plan of Zeus and of Hector as the Instrument by means of which the plan is carried out. At the end of O Zeus has fulfilled his promise to Thetis, and the poet returns to the theme of the poem, the Wrath of Achilles. The situation described in Π–P is crucial in the development of the plot, and has been made a major point of attack by disintegrating criticism. In particular, it is thought that two or more stages in the growth of the story can be detected; that in the adjustment of these the junctures are crude, and that most of P is inferior poetry. The purpose of the present paper is to test these judgments at several points by an examination of the rôle of Hector in Π–P. The Trojan hero has been made dear to the poet's audience in the preceding episodes. Though he is an enemy we share in the exultation of his glorious success at the end of O. But the climax of the poem requires his death, and the Greek conception of nemesis demands that his tragic end be in some way due to a flaw in his character: that he shall at some point reveal the imperfection of the common humanity that he shares with us. To this end the poet makes Hector commit a *fault in honor*. Just what this fault is, and how largely it determines the course of the narrative in P, are questions which have hitherto received insufficient attention.

That Hector violated some rule of conduct is made clear by the words of Zeus, uttered while Hector is donning the armor of Patroclus (P 205 f.):

τεύχεα δ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων  
εἴλεν.



Whatever the precise meaning of οὐ κατὰ κόσμον may be, it certainly implies the failure to act *comme il faut*. The difficulty in the passage lies in the apparent contradiction to Π 793–804, 814 f., 846, where we learn that Apollo struck the armor from the living Patroclus. Modern editors therefore regard these verses as a late interpolation. No ancient critic suggested this way out of the difficulty. The scholia offer two explanations of the fault, both unsatisfactory: that Hector did not slay Patroclus (Schol. A), and that only Peleus and his descendants, to whom the gods gave the armor, had the right to wear it (Schol. T).<sup>1</sup> Eustathius offers the best solution (1102, 46): τὸ δέ, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατὸς τε καὶ ὤμων εἶλεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐσκύλευσας ὡς ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Φοίβου τὸν Πάτροκλον ἀφοπλίσαντος, σὺ δῶρον εἶλεν αὐτὰ ἢ καὶ ὡς εὖρημα, that is, 'You did not, as you ought to have done if you were to appropriate the *spolia opima*, take the armor from the head and shoulders of Patroclus.' This explanation, which, as it seems, has been adopted by only two modern scholars,<sup>2</sup> each apparently independently of the other and of Eustathius, is open to but one objection: at P 125 we are told that Hector, ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπηύρα, was dragging the body of Patroclus. But the verb, although used elsewhere of stripping a body, means this only implicitly, for its exact meaning is 'to deprive.' That the meaning 'to strip' is not implied here may be inferred from P 13, where Euphorbus says to Menelaus:

λεῖπε δὲ νεκρόν, ἔα δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα.

To the listener who had heard that Patroclus was disarmed by Apollo before being slain, both this verse and verse 125 would not suggest that the arms were still on the body. We must therefore examine the action as described in the poem as we have it, in order to see whether it shows any inconsist-

<sup>1</sup> Notice that we have been informed already, at Π 799—a verse not regarded by the ancient critics as an interpolation—that Zeus permitted Hector to wear the immortal helmet.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ludwig, *Sitzb. boehm. Akad.* 1900, p. 3, and van Leeuwen in his edition of 1912–1913.

ency which would make it improbable that the same author composed it all.

Death in battle is a commonplace of the *Iliad*: 243 warriors, whose names are given, are slain in the course of the action. The poet must therefore mark the fall of Patroclus and of Hector by unusual features. In doing this he employs improbabilities and direct divine interference. The disarming of Patroclus by Apollo is no more improbable than is the running of Hector and Achilles, both fully armed, thrice around the walls of the city. If we could rid ourselves of the habit of mind which much reading with the eye has developed, and should pause to picture these two improbable situations, the disarming of Patroclus will be easier to imagine than the long race in X. Patroclus has assaulted the walls of the city, and would have effected an entrance if Apollo had not ordered him back. He retires into the thick of the fight, and then, at the hour of his fate, becomes bersark and slays thrice nine Trojans. Then Apollo, invisible, comes up behind him and smites him a stunning blow on the back with the palm of his immortal hand. The physical shock of the blow is first described. It is normal and humanly possible: his sight is blurred. Then we are told of the divine and the miraculous: his helmet and armor fall from him, his spear flies in pieces. All this occurs instantaneously, but the poet must describe one detail after another. If we could see the armor flying off and the spear splintering all at once at the moment that Apollo strikes, we should not for an instant assign the passage to an inferior poet. To the highly imaginative listener it must have been a thrilling moment.

Patroclus is dazed and daunted: his mind is clouded because of the physical shock, and his soul by his impending doom, τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εἶλεν, and at that instant the spear of Euphorbus strikes him between the shoulders. The rôle of Euphorbus troubles the critics: he does not belong to the 'early version.' Why then is he introduced? Most critics answer, to give Menelaus his turn on the stage, and to describe his *aristeia*



before the scene is cleared for the entrance of Achilles.<sup>3</sup> If this is the poet's chief reason he has picked Euphorbus well. Tradition makes it out of the question for Menelaus to kill either Paris or Aeneas; Hector must be reserved for Achilles, and Polydamas for the Trojan assembly in  $\Sigma$ ; and the poet has another use for Glaucus (see below). The sons of Antenor are as it were protected by the hospitality of their father to Menelaus ( $\Gamma$  205 and the scholium), and the slaying of Cebriones by Patroclus, and of Polydorus and Lycaon (to be described in  $\Phi$ ) by Achilles makes it desirable for the sake of variety that it be not another son of Priam who gives glory to Menelaus. Therefore the poet brings in a new minor champion, selected with great care and pictured with an attractiveness greater than that of any other of the subordinate portraits in the gallery of the *Iliad*. His father Panthous is a councillor of Priam; one of his brothers, Polydamas, is well known to us, and another, Hyperenor, was slain by Menelaus ( $\Xi$  516 ff.).<sup>4</sup> He is young, beautiful, wealthy, dashing; and he has already twenty of the enemy to the credit of his spear, a greater number than Homer records for any of his heroes except Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector. Croiset and Bergk have remarked that the *Patrocleia* is one of the most lyric parts of the poem: the unusual beauty of the simile, used at the death of Euphorbus, strengthens the belief that P is an integral part of the *Patrocleia*. Euphorbus is interesting for himself, for the glory that he gives to Menelaus, and above all, because through him the tragic flaw in Hector's character is made clear, and step by step leads the Trojan hero to his fault in honor. What these steps are, and how far the poet has made the improbable seem probable in his treatment of the armor, are questions

<sup>3</sup> Mülder ingeniously suggests (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, ix, 1018) that the introduction of Euphorbus enables Menelaus to perform a service for Achilles, and so the return of the latter to the support of the Atreidae seems less harsh.

<sup>4</sup> The reference to Hyperenor in P 24-40 arouses doubts in the minds of the critics. But compare Dumas's footnote in the *Trois Mousquetaires*, in which he explains why he left Planchet in London. Omissions of the kind deplored by the critics of Homer may be paralleled in all fiction.



which take us back for a moment to the scene of the death of Patroclus.

The last moments and the last words of both Patroclus and Hector are described with a striking similarity; the place of their death is likewise the same, not far from the Scaean Gates. Both of the heroes alike find their fate at this spot through the failure to heed the counsel of a friend. If Hector had taken the advice of Polydamas ( $\Sigma$  254 ff.), he would have been content with his success, and would have avoided the heart-breaking retreat to this fatal spot; and Patroclus, if he had remembered the words of Achilles, would have been satisfied with the accomplishment of the task assigned him, and would not have pushed his triumph to the place of his doom.<sup>5</sup> An appreciation of the successive stages of the fault in honor depends considerably on noticing how long the narrative clings to the place where Apollo first took from Patroclus the power of resistance. After Euphorbus has wounded him and retreated, first withdrawing his spear,<sup>6</sup> Patroclus, the poet tells us,

<sup>5</sup> Notice also that as the poet uses Patroclus to lead Hector on to his infatuation, so he employs Sarpedon in that of Patroclus. Sarpedon is the counterpart of Achilles on the Trojan side: a demi-god by birth, and the leader of the most important of the allied forces. In the equation of fighting ability Patroclus is not clearly his superior, and therefore must pay the penalty for slaying him. Rationally considered, too, it is the exaltation over a victory of such proportions that makes Patroclus forget the command of Achilles. The parallel between the two tragic incidents, the deaths of Patroclus and of Hector, is one of the countless threads that bind together the episodes of the *Iliad*. Notice also the fatal chain, Cebriones, Patroclus, Hector, Achilles; the death of each of these is linked with that of the one preceding him.

<sup>6</sup> Leaf in supporting the rejection of  $\Pi$  815, which is essential to the theory that the disarming of Patroclus by Apollo is the work of a late interpolator, comments: "We expect to hear that the spear is plucked out after a thrust, not after a cast." Yet even if this is true, the adverb  $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$  (807) makes the blow almost equivalent to a thrust. The reference to the spear may be used as an argument rather against than for the athetesis, for Euphorbus needs his spear in P, as Hector, who also withdraws his spear from the body of Patroclus, needs his. It would also be awkward indeed if the body of Patroclus, which occupies the center of the stage in P, must be pictured as transfixed with a long lance. Hence the removal of the spear is essential:  $\Pi$  814a must be retained, and with it the reference to the disarming,  $\Pi$  814b-815—at least in all other passages  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ , used in the same sense and of a personal encounter, takes an object, as here  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\kappa\lambda\omicron\nu$ .



ἄψ ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων. —Π 817

This might imply that he actually did retire, which would establish once for all the improbability of the disarming, at least of the continuity of the narrative Π-P. But the poet takes pains to correct this, for he adds,

Ἐκτωρ δ' ὥς εἶδεν Πατροκλῆα μεγάλθυμον  
ἄψ ἀναχαζόμενον βεβλημένον ὀξεί χαλκῷ.

'When Hector saw great-hearted Patroclus withdrawing' (that is, in the act of withdrawing, attempting to withdraw), he approached and gave him the death-blow. What did Hector think when he saw Patroclus without armor? The poet does not tell us, but he does satisfy Hector on this point, by the words of Patroclus (Π 845-850): 'Zeus and Apollo gave you the victory, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἔλοντο. Fate and the son of Leto, and of men Euphorbus were the victors over me. You are only a minor actor in the scene'—τριταγωνιστῆς ἄκρος, as Demosthenes said of Aeschines. Probably Hector was thinking only of his triumph over the irresistible Myrmidon, for in his exultation he refers only to his own prowess—he says not a word of Sarpedon or Cebriones, whose deaths he has now avenged, and his thirst for glory is seen in a more selfish aspect than at Z 446.<sup>7</sup> This "liebwürdiger Sanguiniker" (Finsler), this hero who, a pessimist in general, is an optimist at particular moments (Grimm), has suffered his continued success to turn his head. He now thinks himself a match for Achilles (Π 860 f.), and for this reason leaves the body of Patroclus, and pursues after Automedon and the immortal horses. This course, invented for the sake of the narrative in P, is ill-advised. Hector might easily have carried off the body if he had tried to do so at once, for he is not far from the Scaean Gates, and Ajax is at a distance.

Menelaus now appears and exacts 'epic justice' of Euphorbus,<sup>8</sup> and on the approach of Hector leaves the body, and

<sup>7</sup> ἀρνύμενος π α τ ρ ό ς τε μέγα κλέος ἦδ' ἐμόν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>8</sup> Ludwig, *op. cit.* 4, asks why the armor of Euphorbus should be 'famous' (P 70). This seems to imply a certain blindness to Homer's use of κλυτός, and

likewise the body of Patroclus and the armor which, according to our argument, lies near it, and runs to get the assistance of Ajax,

ἐντροπαλιζόμενος ὥς τε λῖς ἠυγένειος. —P 109

The participle is again of importance in explaining the action. In verse 122 Menelaus tells Ajax that

τά γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ.

Now we have not yet been told that Hector has taken the armor. But the participle shows that Menelaus, as he turned back his gaze again and again, while starting to seek Ajax, saw Hector pick up the armor from off the ground. By the time that Menelaus returns with Ajax, Hector has taken the armor and is dragging the body of Patroclus to cut off the head<sup>9</sup> and throw the torso to the dogs. He drops the body, but keeps the armor, and gives it to his comrades to carry in his chariot to the city,

μέγα κλέος ἔμμεναι αὐτῷ.

Here is another step in the fault in honor: Hector is thinking less of the objective of the fighting than of his own glory. In

in particular the failure to notice A 334, where the sons of Merops wear *κλυτὰ τεύχεα*. Leaf, among others, uses the omission of all reference to what became of the armor of Euphorbus as evidence of "an earlier version in which Hector alone slew Patroclus." The omission is easily explained. The armor vanishes from sight into the darkness outside of the spotlight of the narrative, which the poet turns at his own will. But the method of its vanishing is according to the Homeric manner, which is to proceed from the last idea that has been left in the mind of the listener. At P 85, Hector, recalled by Apollo, sees Menelaus stripping Euphorbus, and makes for him. Menelaus soliloquizes: "Alack-a-day! If I leave the beauteous armor (of Euphorbus, naturally, and not of Patroclus, as Ameis-Hentze take it to mean), and Patroclus, who has been brought to earth here for my honor's sake . . . ." Menelaus retires, *λείπε δὲ νεκρόν* (P 108; cf. 113, *ὥς ἀπὸ Πατρόκλοιω κῆε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος*). The arms of Euphorbus are forgotten because they are no longer needed in the narrative.

<sup>9</sup> Too much is made of this incident as justifying the treatment of Hector's body by Achilles. Hector's reason for maltreating the body is to avenge the death of Cebriones, his brother. It is no more than Euphorbus threatens to do to Menelaus as vengeance for the death of Hyperenor (P 39); or Patroclus to Sarpedon (Π 559). Compare also the case of Imbrius (N 202 f.) and of Pisander (A 146).



the duel with Ajax in H he had promised to offer the spoils to Apollo; in the present case he has far greater reason for doing this, but success has turned his head—Hector, like Patroclus, μέγ' ἄασθη.

The approach of Ajax has an important bearing on the final step in the fault in honor. Hector has had good reason to fear Ajax before, especially in Ξ, and since the retreat in Π he has noticed that Zeus, at least for the time, is against him (Π 362, 658). It is natural that he should withdraw before the advance of both Menelaus and Ajax. But here the poet introduces Glaucus again, to taunt Hector to bravery by showing the need of securing the body of Patroclus in exchange for that of Sarpedon, which is supposed to be still on the field. Stung by the words of the Lycian commander, Hector completes his unchivalrous progress, again in striking contrast to his magnanimous courtesy in H. There he had time for sober thought; he had not yet tasted success, and, above all, fate was not ready for him: he had a mission in the plot of the story, to be the instrument in the hands of Zeus by which the promise to Thetis was to be fulfilled.

Hector now shouts to all the forces to hold the enemy,

ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼν Ἀχιλλῆος ἀμύμονος ἔντεα δύω,  
καλά, τὰ Πατρόκλοιο βίην ἐνάριξα κατακτάς.

Critics find fault with two things here. Hector should not leave the fight, even for a short time, at this crisis. This objection would not be seriously considered in the *Aeneid* or *Paradise Lost*. The most that could be said would be that the poet was not convincing and not that the passage was an interpolation. Both here and in Z, where the same objection is made,<sup>10</sup> the poet needs the presence of Hector elsewhere, and at all events we have not come to value highly the unadvised movements of Hector in the previous fighting. The second criticism is also parallel to one made upon the conduct of Hector in Z: that he speaks falsely to the army. There

<sup>10</sup> For the most satisfactory answer to this objection see Rothe, *Ilias als Dichtung*, 69 f.

(Z 114) he says that he is going to bid the elders and the women offer prayer to the gods, not, to tell his mother to make intercession with Athena, in which case a messenger would have been sufficient; here (P 187) he asserts that he stripped the body of Patroclus—when he only picked up the armor which he found near the body. But this is what he must say to the army. He could not admit that he had not taken the armor from the shoulders of Patroclus. But why should Hector think of donning the armor? The poet tells us in the words of Hector to the allies, after he has put on the armor (P 229–232):

ὅς δέ κε Πάτροκλον καὶ τεθνηῶτά περ ἔμπησ  
 Τρῶας ἐς ἵπποδάμους ἐρύσῃ, εἴ ξη δέ οἱ Αἴας,  
 ἡμῖν τῷ ἐνάρων ἀποδάσσομαι, ἡμῖν δ' αὐτὸς  
 ἔξω ἐγώ· τὸ δέ οἱ κλέος ἔσσεται ὅσον ἐμοί περ.

The fear of Ajax, and the need to secure the body of Patroclus as a gage for that of Sarpedon, thereby holding the allies to the defence of the city, these are the motives in Hector's mind. Fear is the Black Mother of Sin. Hector fears Ajax. But he must have the body of Patroclus or lose prestige with the allies. Hence he not only shows them the best evidence of his prowess, the armor of the dreaded Achilles upon his own person, but he offers half of this most precious armor if they will do what in his own fear-smitten heart he knows that he cannot do, make the dreaded Ajax retire from the body.

In determining the outcome of hostile encounters between Homeric heroes four factors may be employed: fate, the will of Zeus, the assistance of some lesser divinity, personal prowess. These the poet uses according as the unfolding of his narrative demands; also, doubtless, with due respect for the most well-established features of legend, although we have not sufficient data for deciding what liberties he allowed himself in this. The four factors are so inextricably woven together by the poet that it is difficult to assign comparative values to each. We might say that fate determines for the listener



the time and circumstances of a hero's death; that Zeus in the hands of the poet is, as it were, the executive officer of fate, with some freedom of action in carrying out the details; that other divinities may contribute much or little, but that the prowess of the hero is more or less a fixed value, depending both on tradition and more especially on the national pride of the audience. The assistance given by Athena to Diomedes in E and to Achilles in X does not lessen the pride of the audience in the success of these heroes, for it is a convention of the epic. Nor does the terror of Paris in Γ, or of Hector in X, when face to face with an antagonist whom he had just before felt himself brave enough to encounter, prove either of them a coward; as champions of the enemy they are rated lower in prowess than their respective opponents. Hector's fault in honor depends little upon the part which Apollo plays in the death of Patroclus and on his own reputation for courage. It consists in the undue appropriation of glory. There is too much of personal pride in his exultation over Patroclus (II 834 ff.—notice that Achilles, at X 379 f., does not take sole credit for slaying Hector), and too much of personal interest in the pursuit of the immortal steeds (II 866). Hector at first sends the armor of Patroclus to the city "for a glory unto himself," and finally dons this armor in violation of a fundamental principle of chivalry.

In the *Iliad* Zeus or another god is often used by the poet, like the tragic chorus in one of its aspects, or like the modern *raisonneur*, as spokesman of the poet, not only to forecast the outcome of the story but also to comment upon and explain causes and motives. When the fault of Hector has been completed by the donning of the armor, Zeus recognizes it and connects it, although perhaps not causally, with the statement that his end is near. Furthermore it should be noticed that Zeus gives his immortal nod only twice in the poem, at A 528 and P 209. The first nod confirms the pledge to give the victory to the Trojans, which in the sequel is done by direct interference in behalf of Hector. This pledge has

been fulfilled at the end of O. The second nod is necessary to bring Hector once more to the ships in victorious mood so that he may be slain eventually by Achilles. Both the nod of Zeus and his comment upon the conduct of Hector indicate the importance of the fault in honor in the construction of the plot at a crucial point.



IX.—*The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief*

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The most noted magical formula of antiquity was what Clement of Alexandria referred to as "the so-called Ephesian letters, famous among many."<sup>1</sup> The great mass of magical books which have been preserved have come from another region. But there can be little doubt that the magical rolls which the first Christians of Ephesus burned to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver<sup>2</sup> were but a small part of those in use. If the Ephesian climate were as propitious as the Egyptian, we should doubtless have numerous documents of magic from the Asian capital. In any case the *ἐφέσια γράμματα* constituted the magical formula *par excellence* in the Hellenistic world.

By the middle of the fourth century before Christ they were already famous. Anaxilas Comicus speaks of "auspicious Ephesian letters," Menander of "evil-averting Ephesian spells."<sup>3</sup> A Cretan lead tablet, quoted below, shows them actually in use at this date. They were known to Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, Clement of Alexandria, and the various lexicographers and paroemiographers.<sup>4</sup> There can be little doubt that an allusion to the famous formula is hidden in a corrupt passage of Apuleius.<sup>5</sup> The magic papyri of the third and fourth centuries repeat three or four of the six words and, as I shall try to show, the *Testament of Solomon*, a Christian writing of the same era, seems to mention two.

<sup>1</sup> *Strom.* v, 8, 45.2 (p. 242 Sylb., 672 Pott.).

<sup>2</sup> Acts, 19: 19.

<sup>3</sup> Meineke, *Frag. Com. Gr.* III (Berlin, 1840), 345; IV (1841), 181; Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* II, 1 (Leipzig, 1884), 268; II, 2 (1888), 108.

<sup>4</sup> See Kuhnert in Pauly-Wissowa, Hild in Daremberg-Saglio, and footnotes below for the various references.

<sup>5</sup> *Met.* XI, 17 (789); cf. L. Stengel, *Rh. Mus.* XVI (1861), 34 f.; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903), 38.

The "original, genuine" Ephesia grammata were six in number, and on the authority of Androcydes the Pythagorean, are given by Hesychius and Clement of Alexandria, who alone dare to name them, as ἄσκιον, κατάσκιον, λίξ, τετράξ, δαμναμενέως, and αἴσια (αἴσιον, Hesych.).<sup>6</sup> Clement informs us that, like dactylic hexameter, they were invented by the Idaean Dactyli.<sup>7</sup> According to Pausanias, the Atticistic lexicographer, they "seem to have been written indistinctly and obscurely on the feet, girdle, and crown of Artemis,"<sup>8</sup> a sentence which reveals principally the author's uncertainty. From the same tradition come perhaps the lines of the great Paris magic papyrus which name certain permutations of δαμνάω as the γράμματα incised on the scepter of Artemis-Selene.<sup>9</sup>

As to the origin and meaning of the mysterious formula, ancients and moderns have made their guesses, all alike unconvincing.<sup>10</sup> We can well agree with the lexicographers and paroemiographers that they were ἀσύνετα.<sup>11</sup> The form of the words and the literary tradition as to their origin have suggested that they came from Phrygian or Cretan sources and were taken over by the worship that developed about Artemis

<sup>6</sup> Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Clement, *l.c.*

<sup>7</sup> *Strom.* I, 15, 73.1 (p. 132 Sylb., 360 Pott.). Roscher's attempted rearrangement of them so as to form a hexameter is artificial and contradicts the evidence (*Philol.* LX [1901], 88 f., accepted by Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, II [München, 1906], 884); see also below, p. 132, note 23.

<sup>8</sup> As quoted by Eustathius, ad Homer. *Od.* T 247. The remark of Arsenius, *Ἰωνιά*, xxv, 22, ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀσύνετα, is possibly no more than a well-intentioned attempt to simplify the involved statement of Pausanias, but may describe an image he had seen.

<sup>9</sup> Lines 2844-2848, δαμνω, δαμνομενεια, δαμασανδρα, δαμνοδαμια; Wessely, "Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London," in *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Classe, xxxvi, 2 (Vienna, 1888), 116. Cf. Abel, *Orphica*, p. 294, vs. 41 ff.; Kuhnert in Pauly-Wissowa. Damnameneus occurs often in the papyrus; see below.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the interpretations ascribed to Androcydes by Clement, *l.c.*, and Hesychius, *l.c.*, based probably on fancied etymologies; and Stickel, *De ephesiis litteris linguae Semitarum vindicandae commentatio*, Jena, Universitätsprogram, 1860, a magnificent example of philological guesswork, in which the six words are transformed into a Semitic epigram.

<sup>11</sup> So apparently for Photius, Suidas, Macarius, and their successors.



of Ephesus.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, the tradition involved in the epithet *ἐφέσιος* is not decisive. As Jessen pointed out, Artemis of Ephesus is not by nature primarily a goddess of magic.<sup>13</sup> Wunsch suggested that *ἐφέσια* is to be derived from *ἐφίημι* in the sense of 'loosen,' rather than from *Ἐφεσος*.<sup>14</sup> More recently Professor Deissmann has explained the epithet as derived from Babylonian *epêšu*, 'to bewitch,' not an impossible procedure in so international a science as magic. The term *ἐφέσια γράμματα*, then, becomes a *terminus technicus* for 'magic formula,' while *epêšu*, an unintelligible foreign word, was associated with the name of the well-known cult center and the traditional explanation grew up by a common etiological process.<sup>15</sup> Magicians and silversmiths might well engrave *incantamenta* upon images of Ephesian Artemis, sometimes upon one part, sometimes upon another, thus giving rise to the varying and confused accounts of their supposed place upon the great image in the temple. Professor Deissmann does not suggest that the six words of the formula as well as the epithet describing them came from Babylonia. That would be a natural and almost necessary inference from his ingenious suggestion. Until evidence is discovered, it would appear that an Anatolian provenience is to be assumed. For the Hellenistic age, certainly, the might of Ephesian Artemis lay behind the ancient formula, but, more than that, the power also of primitive magic and religion.

If the origin and meaning of the Ephesia grammata are uncertain, their current value and use are clear. For the literary sources they are powerful words of magic. Anaxilas

<sup>12</sup> Gruppe, *l.c.*, and Roscher, *l.c.* It is, perhaps, worthy of note that the lead tablet given below, the earliest document that uses the formula, is from Crete, also home of the Idaean Dactyli according to certain traditions; but that evidence is too slight to decide the point.

<sup>13</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, v, 2761.

<sup>14</sup> *Rh. Mus.* LX (1900), 84 f.

<sup>15</sup> Deissmann, "Ephesia Grammata," in *Abhandlungen zur semit. Religionskunde u. Sprachwissenschaft Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin zum 26. Sept. 1917 überreicht von Freunden u. Schülern* (Beiheft zur Z.A.T.W. xxxiii), Giessen (1918), pp. 121-124.

implies that they were written on amulets which formed a characteristic part of the equipment of the rustic fop and glutton.<sup>16</sup> Menander says that they were repeated as ἀλεξιφάρμακα, 'evil-averting spells,' by one who walked about those who were being married.<sup>17</sup> That is, they were spoken 'medicine.'

These two uses, then, as written amulets and spoken charms, run through all the accounts that have come down to us. According to Plutarch the 'magi' instructed those possessed to repeat to themselves the magic words in order to drive the demons out.<sup>18</sup> Croesus is said to have saved himself from the funeral pyre by naming them.<sup>19</sup> As an amulet they rendered the wearer invincible. At Olympia, so the legend ran, an Ephesian repeatedly defeated a Milesian boxer until it was discovered that the former was wearing on his ankle his city's famous magical formula. When this was removed, the Milesian easily won his three successive victories.<sup>20</sup> Pausanias and Photius sum up their value correctly when they say they were names or words having an "occult, evil-averting sense," "a kind of occult power."<sup>21</sup> "Those who

16

ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν  
'Εφεσῆϊα γράμματα καλά.

This is the end of a quotation given by Athenaeus, xii, 548c, from Anaxilas' *Lyropoeus*, where the latter is poking fun at the rustic dude of his day. The σκυτάριοι ῥαπτοί were little "patches" of parchment upon which the "auspicious Ephesian words" were written to "shield" the bearer. Yonge's translation in Bohn's Library, *Athenaeus*, 877, is a beautiful example of modernizing, as if the ancient fop carried a leather brief-case.

17

'Εφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν οὗτος περιπατεῖ  
λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα.

Quoted by Suidas, s.v.; Meineke, *Frag. Com. Gr.* iv, 181, ii; Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii (Leipzig, 1888), 108. Perhaps one should emend τοῖς γαμοῦσιν to δαιμονῶσιν with H. van Herwerden, *Collectanea critica, epicritica, exegetica sive addenda ad Theodori Kochii opus: Com. Att. Frag.* (Leiden, 1903), 371, who makes the suggestion doubtfully, referring to Plutarch, *Mor.* 85 B. Why not emend to τοῖς δαίμοσιν, which is palaeographically, if not metrically, the easiest to explain?

<sup>18</sup> *Mor.* 706 E.

<sup>19</sup> Suidas, Photius, *Etym. Mag.* s.v., Eustathius, l.c.

<sup>20</sup> Photius, Suidas, Eustathius, locc. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Eustathius, l.c., Photius, l.c.



intoned them conquered in everything;" to wear them was to carry a rabbit's foot, or, more classically, with Diogenianus, "to bear a laurel wand."<sup>22</sup> The one reference of the magic papyri to the formula as such exhibits it purely as a "word of power." In preparing a spell the magician is told, γρ(άψε) τὸν λό(γον) τὸν ὀρφαϊκόν· ἄσκει καὶ τάσκει λέγων καὶ λαβὼν μίτον μέλανα βάλε ἄμματα κτλ. Plainly ἄσκει καὶ τάσκει, to be read ἄσκι κατὰσκι, stands here for the whole formula, as *paternoster* does for the prayer which it begins. To the copyist it had so little meaning that he muddled the formula itself, even though it was so common that a mere allusion was sufficient.<sup>23</sup> Here the spoken formula adds its magic power to another which is to be written.

For the literary tradition, then, the Ephesia grammata are words of power, and there is no evidence of their hypostatization. When one turns to popular usage, on the contrary, he finds them transformed from a magic formula, from mere words, into active and powerful beings whose characters and performances are known. An exquisite example of the employment of these δαίμονες as a written and spoken defense against evil is found in the Cretan tablet already mentioned, which dates from the fourth century B.C. The text may be restored as follows:<sup>24</sup>

Αἰ(θα)λίαν ἀνὰ γὰ(ν ναίοντα δόμο)νδε κελεύω  
 φειγέμ[εν ἡμ]ετέρων οἰκῶν ἄ[πο βάσκανα φῦλα·  
 Ζῆνὰ τ' ἀλεξικάκον καὶ Ἡρακλέα πτολίπορθο[ν  
 Ἰατρὸν καλέω καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀπόλλω[να·

<sup>22</sup> Diogenianus, iv, 77; Apostolius, viii, 17.

<sup>23</sup> *Pap. Brüt. Mus.* 121, col. 13; Kenyon, *Cat. of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, i, 89, ll. 459 ff. Wessely, "Neue griechische Zauberpapyri," in *Denkschriften d. kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Classe, XLII (1892), p. 35, transcribes the passage correctly, but in his index (p. 81, ἄσκει καὶ τάσκει τὸν Ὀρφαϊκὸν λόγον) gives the impression that ἄσκει καὶ τάσκει is the λόγος ὀρφαϊκός, which is obviously not the case. The allusion establishes the traditional order of the words, as against Roscher; see above, p. 129, note 7.

<sup>24</sup> The tablet was first published by Ziebarth, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1899, pp. 129-133. It was reprinted with fuller restoration and commentary by Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.* LV (1900), 73-85. In but a few places have I ventured to depart from the readings of the latter.

- 5 ἀτέτ', ὦδ' ἔλκει Τετράγος [Λίξ ἱξαλον αἶγα.  
 Ἔπαφος, Ἔπαφος, Ἔπαφος, φεῦγ', ἅμα φεῦγε, λύκαινα·  
 φεῦγε, κύων, ἅμα σ[ύ], καὶ Πρόκ[λ]οπος, ἅτε σύνοικος  
 μαινόμενοι δ[ρ]άντων πρὸς δώματα αὐτο[ῦ] ἕκαστος.  
 ἄρκο[ῦ] μέμ πόμα[σιν δακ]ετὼ κύνε, Ἄσκι κατὰσκι·
- 10 [Ἄσκι κατὰσκι, [Αἷσια Λίξ, λ]ασίαν ἐν ἀμολγῶ  
 αἶγα βία ἐκ κήπο[υ] ἐλαύνετε. [τ]ο[ῦ]νομα Τετράγ  
 [κέκληται]· σοὶ δ' ο[ῦ]νομα Τρέξ, ἀνέμω, Διὸς ἀκτῆ.  
 ὀλβιος ὦ κ[α]τάδεσ(μ)α <ἐ>δαθῇ κατ' [ἀ]μαξιτὸν [ῆ]κοι·  
 φρεσ[σ]ίλυτος (δ' ὅς) ἔχῃ μακάρων κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδάν.
- 15 <τραξ τετραξ τετραγος>  
 Δαμναμενεῦ, δάμασον δὲ κακῶς ἀέκοντας ἀνάγκη,  
 ὅς κέ με σίνηται, καὶ οἱ κακὰ κολλοβαλοῦσι  
 <ἱερακόπτ[ερον] πελειόπετον χιμαίρας ἀμίσαντον λεώκερας>  
 <λ[έ]οντος ὄνυξ λεοδράκοντος γλῶσ[σ]α γένειο[ν]>
- 20 ο[ῦ] με κατὰχρισ[τον] δηλήσεται, οἱ οὐτ' ἐπ' [ἀ]νίκτω  
 οὔτε πάτω φυγετῆ· ἐπάγω Γῆ σίντορ[ι] πάντων.

The readings are those of Wünsch unless otherwise stated. ( ) indicates restorations of lacunae; [ ] indicates additions, alterations, and restorations of copyist's omissions; < > indicates intrusions by error of copyist. W-Wünsch, M-McCown.

1 ΑΙΟ. ΛΙΑΝ. 2 ΟΙΚΩΙΑΡ. 5 ΑΙΑΙΕΓΩΔΕΛΚΕΙΤΕΤΡΑΓΟΣΠΤΞΤΤΤΑΙ-ΓΑΓΑΛΙΣ: ἀτέτ', ὦδ' ἔλκει Τετραγος W, Λίξ ἱξαλον αἶγα M. 7 ΠΡΟΚ-ΡΟΠΡΟΣ. 9 ΕΤΩΙΚΤΝΕ. 10 ΚΑΤΑΣΚΙΑΑΣΙΑΝΕΝΔΑΣΙΑΝΕΝΑΜΟΛΓ-ΩΙΑΙΞ. 12 κέκληται M (following the usage of the *Test. Sol.*), ὑμέτερον W. 13 ΚΑΤΑΔΜΑΞΙΤΟΝΩΚΟΙ. 14 ΜΑΚΑΡΩΝ bis. 17 οἱ W. ΚΟΛΛΟΒΑΛ-ΟΙΣΙ: κολλοβάλοισι or κολλοβαλοῦσι W 20 οἱ W ΟΤΤΕΕΠΗΝΙΚΤΩΙ. οὐτ' M. 21 ΟΤΤΕΠΑΤΩ bis: φυγετῆ· ἐπάγω W. ΣΙΝΤΟΡΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΑ: σίντορι πάντων M, σίντορα π. W.

This is a real ἐπωδή, a *carmen*, an incantation composed in the dactylic hexameter that was attributed to the Idaean Dactyli and containing the Ephesia grammata which were also ascribed to their ingenuity. I make bold to render the rough and rugged lines freely:

Hear ye, malicious pack that infesteth the Aethalian country,  
 Forth from our homes, I say, away to your own dwelling places.  
 Zeus, the averter of evil, and Heracles, sacker of cities,  
 Healer, I call upon thee, on Victory, and on Apollo.



- 5 Hear ye; the Lix of Tetrag the leaping flock now is bringing.  
 Epaphos, Epaphos, Epaphos, flee; thou she-wolf, flee also;  
 Dog, and thou Thieving Demon, thy fellow insatiate, together  
 Flee ye away, infuriate raging, each to his dwelling.  
 Keep off from the banquet the two greedy hell-hounds, O Aski  
 Kataski.
- 10 Aski Kataski, Aisia Lix, at milking time firmly  
 Drive ye the wooly flock home from the meadow. Thy name  
 is Tetrag,  
 But thou, O Wind, hast the name of Swift, a guerdon of Zeus.  
 Happily he who knows binding magic may pass down the  
 highway,  
 Shorn of his senses the silent, traversing the spirit-thronged  
 highway.
- 15 .....  
 Damnameneu, do thou tame by force the wickedly stubborn,  
 Whoso may harm me and those who some charm would cast  
 o'er me to bind me;  
 .....  
 .....
- 20 Whoso with ointments of magic would hurt me, to him be no  
 refuge  
 By ways whether trodden or trackless: to Earth, the All-spoiler,  
 I doom him.

The manner in which the tablet was folded as well as its content shows that it was intended to be worn as an amulet. The lack of connection in the text indicates that it was made up of various charms compounded like a magic potion into a sort of panacea for all the evils that beast, man, or devil might attempt to work against the wearer.<sup>25</sup> Lines 13 and 14 state most succinctly the importance of knowing and being able to repeat such powerful names as the Ephesia grammata. They express exactly the feelings of those who, according to Plutarch, learned the names of the Idaean Dactyli and used

<sup>25</sup> Line 15, I take it, is the result of the copyist's effort to be certain that he had at least once in his tablet the right form of the name of the wind spirit who plays so important a part in the charm. Lines 18 and 19 are part of an ἀλεξιφάρμακον which the maker of the amulet introduces as a sample of a κατάχριστον or allows to creep in by mistake as he unintelligently copies from his book of recipes.

them as charms to drive away fear by confidently repeating them one by one.<sup>26</sup>

The restoration of the corrupted lines of the tablet presents in detail difficult problems, but for the present study it is sufficient to note in general the treatment accorded the Ephesia grammata. All of them are mentioned and, with the exception of the proleptic Τετράγος Αἰξ and of Αἰσία, which is perhaps sensed as an adjective, αἰσία, in the order observed by Clement and Hesychius.<sup>27</sup> The restoration of line 5 is too uncertain to be used in the argument.<sup>28</sup> Wünsch's ingenious restoration of line 10, transposing the word Αἰξ, which has lost its proper place as the meter proves, may not be right in detail. But it uses only elements already present in the tablet which, with lines 11, 12, and 16, are sufficient for the purposes of this argument.

Aski Kataski appears as an individual, since it is addressed in the singular. Lix, or if Wünsch's restoration is correct, Aisia Lix, is a wind sometimes called also Tetrag. Tetrag and Damnameneu are the two clearly defined characters. Three points not affected by uncertainties of text are important for the thesis here maintained: (1) the Ephesia grammata are regarded as persons, for they are directly addressed, (2) they are appealed to as beneficent, protecting spirits, and (3) Tetrag,

<sup>26</sup> *Mor.* 85 B. The rationalizing explanation of Marcus Aurelius, 'Εφεσίων γράμμασι παράγγελμα ἔκειτο συνεχῶν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν τινος τῶν ἀρετῇ χρησαμένων (*Medit.* xi, 26), fits closely enough this popular usage to allay fear and might be read into the repetition to the newly married mentioned by Menander. In the same way the Palestinian *fellah*, when he has to go out at night where he thinks demons may be, "murmelt beim Gehen beständig Beschwörungen vor sich hin, betet ununterbrochen oder ruft vortwährend Gott oder einen Heiligen an."—Canaan, *Aberglaube u. Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (Abhandlungen d. hamburg. Kolonialinstituts, xx), Hamburg (1914), p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> The fact that αἰσία is an adjective, 'auspicious,' may explain this irregularity and also the fact that it alone of the six words does not appear in the magic papyri.

<sup>28</sup> I have restored on the assumption that ΑΙΞ at the end of the line is for Αἰξ, which is regarded as belonging to Τετράγος, a genitive, the return of the flocks marking the beginning of the night and the consequent need of protection against the demonic powers that were active in darkness.



or Lix, is a wind.<sup>29</sup> The bearing of these self-evident conclusions will be seen when we turn to another document dating some six or seven hundred years later.

The *Testament of Solomon*, a Christian combination of Jewish and heathen demonology and magic, probably belongs to the third or fourth century after Christ.<sup>30</sup> It is a thesaurus of magico-medical, demonological, and astrological lore, strung together on the slender thread of a narrative as to how Solomon, by means of his God-given ring, secured power over the demons and knowledge of their characteristics; learned the manner in which each was to be circumvented and made powerless, in other words, cured, and then used them, by way of punishment, in the building of the Temple. It comes to us in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, six of which contain a passage which I read as a description of Lix Tetrax, the wind demon specially singled out for attention in the Cretan tablet. The chapter which follows is a fair specimen of the whole:

VII. Καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν θεὸν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου. καὶ ἦν τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιφέρων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπόλειπον τοῦ σώματος εἰλούμενον ὡσεὶ κοχλίας. 2. καὶ ἔρρηξε στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἤγειρε καὶ λάβρον κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀνέφερεν ἄνω καὶ πολλὰ ἔρριπτεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμὲ θαμβεῖσθαι· καὶ εἶπον· τίνα ἔχω ἐρωτῆσαι; ἕως ἐπὶ πολὺ. 3. καὶ ἀναστάντος μου ἔπτυσσα χαμαὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον καὶ ἐσφράγισα τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἔστη ἡ αὔρα ἐκείνη. τότε ἠρώτησα αὐτὸν λέγων· σὺ τίς εἶ; καὶ οὕτως κονιορτὸν τινάξας ἀπεκρίθη μοι· τί θέλεις, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν; 4. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ· εἶπέ μοι τί λέγεις κάγώ σε ἐρωτᾶν θέλω. οὕτως δὲ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σοφίσαντί με πρὸς τὰς βουλὰς αὐτῶν ἀποκρι-

<sup>29</sup> Following the usage of Clement and Hesychius and, as I believe, of the *Testament of Solomon* (see below), I assume that Λίξ and Τετράγ may appear together, as does Ἀσκι Κατάσκι, Λίξ being a secondary, Τετράγ the important name for the one character. Whether Aski Kataski is to be taken as one name or two is indeterminable. In the literary tradition it is two.

<sup>30</sup> See discussion of the date in my edition, *The Testament of Solomon* (Untersuchungen zum N. T., herausg. v. H. Windisch, No. 9), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922, pp. 105-108.

νασθαι. ἔφη δέ μοι ὁ δαίμων· ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Λίξ Τετράξ. 5. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ· τίς ἡ πρᾶξις σου; ἔφη δέ· ἀνθρώπους σκορπίζω καὶ στρόφους ποιῶ καὶ πῦρ ἄπτω καὶ ἀγροὺς ἐμπυρίζω καὶ οἴκους καταργῶ. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ ἔχω τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐν θέρει. ἐὰν δὲ καιρὸν εὕρω, ὑποδύνω εἰς γωνίας τοίχων νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν· ἥδη γὰρ γόνος εἰμὶ τοῦ μεγάλου. 6. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ· ἐν ποίῳ ἄστρῳ κεῖσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ κέρατος τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἐν τῷ νότῳ εὐρισκόμενον ἐκεῖ μου τὸ ἄστρον. διότι τὰ σφάλματα τοῦ ἡμιτριταίου προσετάχθην ἀνιμᾶσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἰδόντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχονται εἰς τὸν ἡμιτριταῖον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὀνόμασι τούτοις· βουλταλά· θαλλάλ· μελχάλ· καὶ ἰῶμαι αὐτούς. 7. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ Σολομῶν· ὅτε οὖν θέλεις κακουργεῖν, ἐν τίνι καταργεῖσαι; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ἐν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ᾧ καὶ ὁ ἡμιτριταῖος παύεται. ἐπηρώτησα δὲ αὐτόν· ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι καταργεῖσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Ἀζαήλ. 8. καὶ ἐπεσφράγισα τὸν δαίμονα καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν λίθους ἀρπάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀκοντίζειν τοῖς τεχνίταις· καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ προστεταγμένα αὐτῷ ἐποίει.<sup>31</sup>

There are many more or less important *variae lectiones* in the six manuscripts, but the only point of significance for our present problem is the name of the demon here described. I have "restored" Λίξ Τετράξ, first because I believe the evidence of the manuscripts makes it the probable reading, and second because there are important resemblances between the demon of the *Testament* and the Lix Tetrax of the tablet.

First, do the manuscript readings justify the emendation? The fifteenth century copy of the *Testament* in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall<sup>32</sup> gives the name as ἡ λίξ τέφρας. Harleian Ms. 5596 in the British Museum, also of the fifteenth century, reads εἰς λῆξ· τεφράσθαι, and, omitting the first nine words of the next section, takes the infinitive with what follows (ἀνθρώπους, κτλ.). Two other manuscripts of the same century, both copied from the same exemplar in Italy, one now No. 3632 in the library of the University of

<sup>31</sup> For the manuscript variants see the edition cited above, pp. 28 \* ff.

<sup>32</sup> Since the publication a letter from the librarian, C. W. James, Esq., informs me that the manuscript came from Venice to "Mr. Coke of Norfolk" in 1721, having formerly been the property of a Cretan priest, Mark of Morzenos.



Bologna, the other No. 2419 of the "Anciens Fonds Grecs" of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, read *θλιξ τέφρας*. Two manuscripts, one in Jerusalem, Sancti Saba No. 422, the other No. 38 of the "Anciens Fonds Grecs," read *ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς τέφρας*, instead of *ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Λιξ Τετράξ*. Palaeographically there can be no objection to my conjecture. The resemblance is so close as to make the change easy from unintelligible *τετράξ* to familiar *τέφρας*, 'ashes,' especially as the dust of the windstorm might easily suggest the latter. As to the first name, in such late and carelessly copied manuscripts as these, one need not seek a full explanation of such small alterations. It is entirely in keeping with the general character of the manuscripts that the first, third, and fourth should preserve an unintelligible reading which closely resembles the original, that the second should completely confuse it by pure carelessness or ineptitude, and that the last two should alter it into something reasonable and intelligible, but quite other than the author intended.

The second question is, Does the character of the demon in these two widely separated documents, the Cretan tablet and the Christian *Testament*, justify the identification? There are several reasons for answering in the affirmative. First, although the literary references to the Ephesia grammata imply that they are words only, our two non-literary documents plainly regard them as powerful demons, or spirits, each with his own individuality. In both *Lix Tetrax* is a wind and, most significantly, the "gift of Zeus" of the tablet is in the *Testament* "offspring of the Great One." That the beneficent gift of Zeus, the cool evening breeze that with its eddying gusts brings the flocks home in safety, becomes in the *Testament* an evil, whirlwind demon that burns and causes fever is entirely in keeping with Jewish and Christian demonology, which turned the spirits and gods of Heathendom into devils. The notable fact is that, in the *Testament*, contrary to all its usage, when men pray to the semitertian fever with certain magic words, *Lix Tetrax* cures them. With the passing of the cen-

turies and the coming of the new religion, Lix Tetrag has undergone alterations, but the storm-demon of the Christian *Testament* is the lineal descendant of the Cretan δαίμων of the evening breeze.<sup>33</sup>

The numerous occurrences of the word Δαμναμενεῦ in the magic papyri and amulets prove the spirit's popularity. He was probably thought of as the 'Tamer,' his name being derived from δαμνάω-δαμάζω, as in the Cretan tablet. In this case literary and popular tradition agree, for he was one of the artisan γοῆτες Ἰδαῖοι, later one of the three Idaean Dactyli whose names are handed down as,

Κέλμης Δαμναμενεὺς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων,

and also one of the Telchines.<sup>34</sup> Nonnus relates a love affair in which he played the hero.<sup>35</sup> Like other δαίμονες, in the magic papyri he is little more than a name, but fully as real a person as the great deities. In *Pap. Leiden. v* he is invoked along with Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Chettaeus, Axiothof, the seven vowels, and others, as "greatest god,"<sup>36</sup> in the Paris Magic Papyrus immediately following Adonai and Zeus.<sup>37</sup>

One can have little doubt, therefore, that for the non-Christians of the fourth century A.D., as for the Cretans of the fourth century B.C., the Ephesia grammata were still living and active spirits, as powerful and beneficent as in the

<sup>33</sup> The word λῖξ occurs at the beginning of the Paris Magic Papyrus (l. 3) but in so uncertain a connection as to be unintelligible.

<sup>34</sup> Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, i, 1129 (Merkel-Keil, 1854, p. 371), Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (1829), p. 1157. The chief sources are Diodorus Siculus, v, 6 f., and Strabo, x, 3, 22. See Lobeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 1156-1181, Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2018 ff. and Trümpel, *ib.* iv, 2058, Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* 455, n. 1, 1522, n. 4.

<sup>35</sup> *Dion.* xxxiii, 326. Perhaps for this reason he appears in the ἀγωγή, or love charm, Paris Mag. Pap. 2772, 2779.

<sup>36</sup> Col. 19, ed. Leemans, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> Lines 2772 f., Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpap.*, 114. A few of the many references to Damnameneus are listed by Wessely, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. A figure almost identical with that in Kopp, *Palaeog. Crit.* iv, 203, is found among the Intailles Gnostiques, in the Dépt. de Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 2181.



time of their prehistoric origin. Koch may have been right in saying that they were the names of the Idaean Dactyli,<sup>38</sup> but in any case they were mythological beings, probably pre-Greek deities. Putting together the usage of the Cretan tablet and the magic papyri, popular documents which may be expected best to retain primitive forms, one concludes that they were called ἄσκι, κατάσκι, αἴσια, λίξ, τετράγ, δαμναμενεῦ. The form of the words together with the literary tradition suggests that they are of Indo-germanic, probably Phrygian origin.<sup>39</sup> They were in some way associated with the great goddess of Ephesus, were gradually Hellenized in form and degraded in place, while their original meaning was forgotten until they became for the educated a mere formula and for the Christians evil spirits, with just a touch of their former benevolent character. Perhaps the excavations which we hope may soon become possible in rejuvenated Anatolia will eventually recover them, or possibly they may be found when the tantalizing Cretan script is deciphered.

<sup>38</sup> *Com. Att. Frag.* II, 1, 268.

<sup>39</sup> Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* II, 884, n. 2, Roscher, *Philologus*, LX, 101, "Nachträge" to p. 89. The latter notes resemblances between them and certain Phrygian names, but thinks the words may come from a non-Greek, pre-Phrygian race.

X.—*Joseph and Potiphar in Hindu Fiction*<sup>1</sup>

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The story of Joseph belongs to the type known in general literature as the Fortunatus type. The child of fortune is possessed of intrinsic, congenital, magically bestowed qualities, that point to an abnormally high career. This threatens to interfere with others' fortunes, or arouses others' envy and malice. He is also endowed with unusual bodily charms, which may entangle him in amorous adventures that are, by the terms of his character, foreign to his inclination. These he invariably resists: Fortunatus is not only lucky, but also good. Neither persecution, nor women's lure, can do him permanent harm, or bar the way to his glorious destiny.

It is easy to see where the episode of Madam Potiphar comes in: it is a progressive motif, fitted into a Fortunatus story, which brings the hero to the low-water mark of his career, as regards both danger and suffering. But his evil plight is at the same time his opportunity: some inherent quality ensures an upward turn in his fortunes. In the Biblical story Joseph's unaccountable power of divination, the mainspring of his magic character, starts the trouble which belongs to the career of any Fortunatus. But it also turns upward his fortunes, when they are at their lowest. The clever story is particularly clever in Joseph's preliminary and, at first sight, rather irrelevant interpretation of the dreams of his fellow prisoners, Pharaoh's butler and baker. This sample exhibition of his magic art gives him the chance to apply the same art so as to obtain Pharaoh's favor; to save Pharaoh's kingdom from destruction; to play the rôle of fairy godmother to his wicked brothers, as well as to the father that is sorrowing

<sup>1</sup> This is one of a series of articles aiming at a future Encyclopedia of Hindu Fiction; see *A. J. P.* XLIV, 97, note.



at his loss; and to determine finally the destiny of the children of Israel. Joseph is *Fortunatus* in the highest sense of the word.

The definition of the Potiphar motif as a progressive motif implies that it is not dependent either historically or structurally upon the *Fortunatus* idea, or any other particular sphere of fiction. Though it occurs regularly in all narratives that are descended from the Genesis story, it occurs also independently in many places, the product, clearly enough, of common human endowment.

The Joseph-Potiphar motif, as well as the dream of Pharaoh, was adopted from Biblical and rabbinical sources by the *Qurān* (Surāh 12, 23–25), and thence emerges into Mohammedan novel literature in the poems of *Yūsuf and Zulaikhā*, by Abdurrahman Jāmi and by Firdusi; and in the story of *Khusrau and Shīrīn* by Nizāmud-Dīn. Through Saracen channels it has also entered Spanish literature as *Legenda de José hijo de Jacob*, and as *Poema de José*. In the *Qurān* Zulaikhā is the name of the wife of Qitphir, *i.e.*, Potiphar. Jāmi's poem is at the base even of a Sanskrit composition, Ṣrīvara's *Kathākāutukam*.<sup>2</sup> To this day the tale of *Yūsuf and Zulaikhā* is recited by minstrels in Kashmir in the Kashmirian language.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to observe how the Qūranic (Biblical-rabbinical) account joins there the Hindu motif of selecting a king by animal divination. Yūsuf has interpreted Pharaoh's dream—"and the famine seized the king. He felt hunger, and cried out, 'Give me food,' although that was not his time for eating. Through the power of the famine he cried to them, 'Speedily bring ye it to me.' . . . They hauled it to him in caldrons, and he ate it, but could not be satisfied. . . . He died of starvation. Next day the viziers gave forth this command, 'Let all you citizens descend to-morrow to the Īd-plain, and he to whom the elephant will bow, and on whose thumb-ring the royal hawk will alight,

<sup>2</sup> For the spread of the Qurānic version see Reinhold Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften* (herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte), II, 12, 80 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Stein and Grierson, *Hatim's Tales, Kashmir Stories and Songs* (London, 1923), pp. 32 ff. (cf. pp. xxxiv ff.).



shall become king.' . . . The elephant came and bowed to Yūsuf, and the hawk came and alighted on his thumb-ring. So Yūsuf became king." We shall see, later on, that the choice of Fortunatus to kingship by animal omens is a standard feature in Hindu stories, and, more narrowly, in Hindu Joseph stories. Howsoever far diffused this type of animal divination may be, and whencesoever its origin, there is not the least doubt that its alliance with the Joseph motif is of Hindu origin.<sup>4</sup>

To this extent, at least, the Biblical and Hindu stories touch. Classical myths or legends also approach at points the Potiphar motif in the stories of Bellerophon and Antaea (Proteus' wife); of Peleus and Hippolyte (the "Magnessa Hippolyte" of Horace); of Hippolytus and Phaedra; of Crispus and Fausta. Thus Phaedra, wife of Theseus, loves Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, who repels her advances. Her love is changed to hate and despair, and she hangs herself, leaving for her husband a scroll containing false charges against Hippolytus. Theseus imprecates the vengeance of Neptune upon his son, who is slain by a device of Neptune. Aesculapius restores him, and he is removed by Diana into safety from the hatred of his deluded father.

It is not my purpose to determine the original date and provenience of the Potiphar motif, but to track its occurrences in Hindu literature or folk lore, and to describe its uses and the organic modulations which it undergoes in its manifold story connections, under the hands of many writers whose intentions, in telling the story, differ not a little from case to case. Suffice it to say that I am unacquainted with any instance of it in the Veda; that it appears in questionable beginnings in the *Mahābhārata*; that it is present full-fledged, in the Buddhist *Jātakas* at a fairly early time; that it is familiar in classical Brahmanical literature; and that it is told with great predilection and rich modulation in the very

<sup>4</sup> See Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha*, p. 200, top. Cf. E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, pp. 30 ff.; Edgerton, *J. A. O. S.* xxx, 158 ff.



extensive Jaina fiction literature, which is at the present time fairly pouring from India into the West.

The Hindu urge towards systematization is ever alert. The wife of another is tabu the world over, but Indic literature, more particularly Buddhist and Jaina literature, definitely range the theme within their respective ethical systems; and give clearest expression to the folly and danger of the Potiphar sin. Inclination after others' wives is often indicated negatively by accounting it unto righteousness that a king or some other opulent person is faithful to a single wife. Thus in *Pārçvanātha Caritra*, v, 22, King Açvasena, faithful to his queen Vāmādevī, is described as resisting the lure of other women: "The sharp arrows of the sidewise glances of others' wives, placed upon the bows of their eye-brows, do not pierce his heart in (this) age of iron." In *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 144, King Kumārapāla is praised for his habitual treatment of his neighbors' wives as sisters. In the adventures of King Vikrama as a parrot, as told in a manuscript of the *Vetālapañcaviṇṇati*, one of the virtues of that monarch is conveyed in the word *paranārīśahodara*, 'he who regards or treats others' wives as sisters'; see Uhle, *Z. D. M. G.* XXIII, 444. This expression, or more rarely, *parastrīparāṇmukha*, 'he whose face is averted from others' wives'; or, *sodaryavrata*, 'he who vows to regard (others' wives) as sisters,' are common in Jaina writings, being predicated, especially, of pious kings and princes: *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 116; *Hemavijaya*, stories 14, 35, 143; *Pārçvanātha*, II, 731; *Mallinātha*, I, 522; v, 25; VII, 303; *Uttamacaritrakathānakam*, stanza 4; *Pālagopālakathānakam*, stanza 176. Likening others' wives to a mother is less frequent and technical, *e.g.*, *Mahāpaduma Jātaka* (472); *Pārçvanātha*, II, 723; *Hemavijaya*, story 208. The idea is brought home in detail in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, 5743: "The wife of a king, the wife of one's teacher, the wife of one's friend, the mother of one's wife, and one's own mother—these five are to be regarded as mothers." Contrariwise, one who runs after other men's wives is called *pāradārika*,

(*Mallinātha*, VII, 336, 370); or *parastrīrata* (*Pālagopālakathānakam*, stanza 160). One who robs others' wives is called *paradārāpahāraḥ* (*Kathās*. 121, 25). In *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, p. 193 (Burlingame's translation in Harvard Oriental Series, xxx), the Buddhist writer aptly excoriates the practice: "Acquisition of demerit, an evil future state, brief pleasure for the man and woman, severe punishment by the king—therefore a man should not run after another man's wife."

Very faint are the beginnings of the motif in the *Mahābhārata*, if indeed the following episodes are to be regarded in this light at all. In *Mahābh.* I, 103, 1 ff., the teacher Veda goes a-traveling, charging his pupil Uttānka with the care of his household. The women of the household ask Uttānka to play the part of husband to Veda's wife, after she has had her menses. Uttānka refuses, and earns the gratitude of Veda. In *Mahābh.* I, 54, Satyavatī begs Bhīṣma to fructify the widows of Vicitravīrya, named Ambikā and Ambālikā, but Bhīṣma, who had married the two women to Vicitravīrya, refuses to break his trust. Again, in XIII, 19, 1 ff., Aṣṭāvakra wooes Suprabhā, the daughter of the Rishi Vadānya. The Rishi consents, on the condition that Aṣṭāvakra shall first visit an old sorceress (Yoginī) in the north. Aṣṭāvakra agrees, and, in time, arrives at a wonderful palace into which he is admitted by seven entrancing maidens. The mistress of the palace, an old woman, comes into his bed at night, and solicits him. He refuses, but remains there. She attends him with care, so that the time passes unnoticeably. One night she repeats her overtures, this time as a beautiful maiden, but in vain. She explains that she is Uttarā Diç, 'the North Region,' and that she has tested his constancy at Vadānya's request. She dismisses him, and he marries his fiancée.

We find a clearly marked Joseph story for the first time in *Mahāpaduma Jātaka*, 472,<sup>5</sup> repeated in *Dhammapada Commentary*, XIII, 9a; it is heavily embroidered with every

<sup>5</sup> See also *Bandhanamokkha Jātaka* (120), a rather twisted form of the same story.



jewel of the Buddhist morality. Prince Paduma (the Bodhisat) has grown up, accomplished in all the arts, and of great beauty of person. His mother dies; his father, King Brahmadatta of Benares, takes another consort, and appoints the prince viceroy. The king sets forth to quell an uprising, and, when he has routed his enemies, returns and pitches his camp without the city. Just as the prince sets out to greet his father, the new queen observes his beauty and becomes enamored of him. In taking leave of her the prince says, "Can I do anything for you, mother?" "Mother do you call me?" saith she, seizing his hands, "Lie on my couch." "Why?" says the prince. "Just until the king comes, let us both enjoy the bliss of love." "Mother, my mother you are, and you have a husband living. Such a thing was never before heard of, that a woman, a matron, should break the moral law in the way of fleshly lust. How can I do such a deed of pollution with you?" Thereupon the queen dons a soiled robe, lacerates her body with her nails, and lies down, making pretense of illness. When the king arrives and sees her not, he asks, "Where is the queen?" "She is ill," they say. The king enters the state chamber, and asks her, "What is amiss with you, lady?" She makes as though she hears nothing. Twice and yet thrice he asks, and then she answers, "O great king, why do you ask? Be silent; women that have a husband must be ever as I am." "Who has annoyed you; tell me quickly, and I will have him beheaded." "Whom did you leave behind you in this city, when you went away?" "Prince Paduma." "And he," she goes on, "came into my room and I said, 'My son, do not so, I am your mother'; but say what I would, he cried, 'None is king here but me, and I will take you to my dwelling, and enjoy your love.' Then he seized me by the hair of my head, and plucked it out again and again, and as I would not yield to his will, he wounded and beat me, and departed."

The king, furious as a serpent, without making investigation, against the protests of the prince, and the lamentations



of the royal seraglio and all the warrior chiefs and magnates of the land, has the Great Being flung down the Robbers' Cliff (*corapāta*), but the deity dwelling in that mountain places him safe and sound within the hood of the King of the Dragons, who carries him home and confers upon him half his kingdom. At the end of a year Prince Paduma adopts the life of an ascetic. The king hears of him through a certain forester, learns what has happened, and offers him his kingdom. The Great Being declines, but instructs the king in the Ten Royal Virtues. The queen is taken by the heels and flung head foremost down the Robbers' Cliff.

There is, next, a version of the tragic story of Prince Kuṇāla, son of the Emperor Aṣoka, blinded by the intrigues of a hostile stepmother, in which that stepmother appears in the rôle of Madam Potiphar. It is narrated in the Northern Buddhist (Mahāyāna) *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 405 ff.,<sup>6</sup> in mixed prose and verse, in the usual diffuse style of that text, but not unimpressively. Aṣoka's queen Padmāvatī presents him with a son whose eyes are as beautiful as those of the fabulous and woman-wise bird Kuṇāla which we know from the canny *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (536), so whole-souledly devoted to the exposure of women's guile and unfaithfulness. Aṣoka has the bird Kuṇāla brought before him, finds that the prince's eyes are like those of the bird, and, therefore, names him Kuṇāla. When the prince grows up to a noble manhood he is married to Kāñcanamālā. Warned by a *sthavira* (elder) that his eyes are perishable, the prince cultivates tranquility, lives a lonely life, and regards eyes and other senses as things impermanent. The chief queen of Aṣoka, Tiṣyarakṣitā, comes upon him alone; falls in love with his eyes, embraces him, and tells him that her heart is all aflame for him "as a forest with sun-dried trees is set afire by a forest-fire." Kuṇāla closes

<sup>6</sup> A version of the Kuṇāla story in *Pariṣiṣṭaparvan*, 9, 14 ff. substitutes for the Potiphar queen a stepmother who wishes to destroy Kuṇāla, in order that her own son may succeed to the throne. The Chinese Tripiṭaka also has a banal version, laden with rather irrelevant moralities; see Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, no. 30, vol. I, pp. 106 ff.



his ears with both hands and exclaims, "Not fitly have you spoken thus before me, thy son; you are my mother! Suppress this sinful love; there lies the road to misfortune!" Tiṣyarakṣitā threatens him with death, but Kuṇāla, persisting in addressing her as mother, retorts that such a life as she proposes is real death that robs one of heaven and righteousness. Thenceforth Tiṣyarakṣitā watches for an opportunity to destroy him.

The city of Takṣaṣilā in North India is in revolt, and Aṣoka, at the advice of his ministers, sends Kuṇāla to suppress the insurrection. As Kuṇāla approaches, the citizens come out to honor him with vessels full of jewels, assure him that they are not hostile to him, or to the Emperor, but that evil ministers had come and had outraged them. They then accompany him with show of great honor to the city.

Emperor Aṣoka is taken ill with a severe enteric sickness which no one can cure. He calls for Kuṇāla in order to make him king, because his life has become worthless. Then Tiṣyarakṣitā, afraid of this outcome, cures the king by a cunning and abhorrent device, which involves the vivisection of a humble shepherd. The grateful king grants her sovereignty over his domain for a period of seven days. She forges a royal decree to pluck out Kuṇāla's eyes, and sends it to Takṣaṣilā. Not even the lowest *Caṇḍālas* are willing to do so, though Kuṇāla urges them to carry out the royal behest. At last a cripple with the eighteen evil bodily characteristics offers himself, and performs the hideous deed. Kuṇāla remains equable, because "though he has lost his eye of flesh, hard to regain, he has obtained a blameless, spiritual eye." Even when he hears that he has been victimized by Tiṣyarakṣitā, he blesses her, because she has promoted his spiritual interests.

His wife Kāñcanamālā hears of it all, comes to Kuṇāla, and falls into a dead faint at the sight of him. After her recovery she and her blind husband start to wander; Kuṇāla gains their living by playing the lute. They arrive in time

at the royal residence in Pāṭaliputra, and rest in the chariot-stable of the palace, where Kuṇāla sings to the lute a song in praise of "true sight." Açoka is reminded of Kuṇāla's lute, and sends a messenger to investigate. The man does not recognize the blind prince who is burnt by sun and wind, but, when sent a second time, he asks his name and descent. Kuṇāla is taken before Açoka; the king, recognizing him, falls into a swoon; and, later, learns that his sad fate was due to Tiṣyarakṣitā's plot. He has her brought before him, and threatens her with cruel punishment, but the prince intercedes in her behalf, begs the emperor not to return evil for evil, and finally makes the *saccakiriyā*, or 'truth-declaration':<sup>7</sup> "King, no pain afflicts me; no wrath over this cruel injury. As truly as my heart has forgiven my mother, so truly shall my former sight return to me!" Then he had his eyes again, more beautiful than before.

But Açoka does not abandon his wrath. He has Tiṣyarakṣitā placed in a hut sprinkled with rosin and burned alive.<sup>8</sup>

The Northern Buddhist story from the *Kah-gjur*, reported in Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 279 ff., under the title, "The Two Brothers,"<sup>9</sup> is unmistakably related to the Kuṇāla story, as it also deals with a pious prince, named Kṣemaṃkara, whose eyes are restored by *saccakiriyā*, after having been feloniously plucked out by his evil brother Pāpaṃkara. Though the Joseph motif occurs here only incidentally, in the course of Kṣemaṃkara's adventures, its intention is clearly to mark his noble character in general; it is contributory to the final happy dénouement and, as such, joins the preceding stories in being used for moralizing ends.

The only instance in which Joseph succumbs to Madam Potiphar's solicitations is also told in Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp.

<sup>7</sup> See Burlingame, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917, p. 449.

<sup>8</sup> The rosin house within which to roast people is well known in Hindu fiction from the time of the *Mahābhārata* (I, 330, 2250). See the Bambhadatta story, p. 5, ll. 37 ff., in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*.

<sup>9</sup> Retold, rather platitudinously, in the Chinese Tripitaka; see Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, no. 381, vol. II, pp. 389 ff.



206 ff. The lovely Utpalavarnā, 'Lotus Stamen,' has a young husband who is seduced by his own wife's mother. The story describes graphically how she finds the pair *in flagrante delicto*, flings her new-born baby to her husband, leaves the house, and starts a roving existence which involves her repeatedly in tangled, incestuous relations, from which she is finally saved by the great Sage Mahāmāudgalyāyana, who resists her lures, and teaches her the Four Truths.

Once more in Ralston, p. 102, an obvious derivative of the Potiphar motif is applied to medical ethics, in a way that might arrest the author of a treatise on that subject. In Mathurā lives a householder who has a beloved young wife of consummate charm. After his death he is born again as a reptile in the lower part of her body. She hears that the famous physician Jīvaka has arrived in the city, and comes to him for treatment. He coaxes the reptile trickily out of her body, whereupon she recovers. Her desires are enhanced by passion; she makes advances to him; but he shuts his ears, and says, "You seem to me like an ogress. I who have cured you am content with having done so." In the end Jīvaka, 'Lifegiver,' a cross between a religious and a physician, cures King Ajātaçatru, and is installed with great pomp as king of his profession.

Jaina texts handle the theme more familiarly than any other branch of Hindu literature, in connection with their ethics, which are systematized to a degree not quite reached by any other Hindu religious sect. Not only chastity but also discernment (*viveka*), both items of the five lighter vows (*aṇuvrata*) of lay householders, forbid improper relations with another's wife. The theme has become a *cliché*, whenever they describe virtue in general. The Jaina writers, too, go much farther in combining the Joseph story with other recurrent motifs, and in inventing ingenious modifications of the story which adapt it to longer novelistic narratives, very much at home in their Caritras and Kathānakas. The element of humor also occasionally varies the motif in quite an

unexpected manner. Here we find for the first time the partnership, alluded to above (p. 142 f.) between the Joseph motif and the animal-oracle method of choosing a king, ordinarily called *pañcadivvyādhivāsana*, but known also by other interesting names and many modifications of the practice.

In *Pārçvanātha Caritra*, II, 723 ff., the theme is chastity in general, the fourth light vow (*aṇuvrata*), designated here as *brahmavrata*.<sup>10</sup> It is pointed from the start towards our motif. He who sees others' wives as a mother, he (really) sees.<sup>11</sup> Later on this virtue is described as *paranārīṣu sodaryavrata*, 'he who has vowed to regard others' wives as sisters.' Excellent King Sundara of Dhārāpura has but a single wife, Madanavallabhā, crest-jewel of good women. Once, in the middle of the night, the king's house-divinity tells him, sad-faced, that his will be a rude fate, but that she herself might be able to postpone his troubles until after his youth has passed. The king chooses to shoulder his troubles at once; starts with his wife and two boys on a course of adventures; is promptly robbed by a thief, and separated from wife and children. After many mishaps he is engaged as a servant by a certain householder, whose wife, love-maddened by his beauty, constantly talks to him in a manner unbecoming to a good woman. Leaving this forbidden ground, he comes to Çrīpura, and goes to sleep in the outskirts of the city under a mango tree. The king of Çrīpura has just died without leaving a son. The five-oracle method of finding a successor is resorted to by the ministers. The procession of elephant, horse, chowries, umbrella, and water-jug, headed by the court, arrives at the spot where Sundara sleeps. The horse then neighs, the elephant roars, the jug empties itself on the sleeping hero, the umbrella stands over his head, and the two chowries wave. He is carried in triumph on the back of the

<sup>10</sup> Previously designated, more familiarly, as *brahmcarya* (stanza 46). It is also known as *abrahmavirati* (*Mallinātha Caritra*, VII, 198 ff). See Umāsvāti, *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, VII, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *mātrvat paradārāṅ ca yaḥ paçyati sa paçyati*.—II, 723.



elephant to the city, and receives the homage of the ministers and vassals. Not even in all this glory does King Sundara, devoted to his own most beloved wife, think of marriage. He is, of course, reunited with her and his boys, and regains his original kingdom of Dhārāpura, in addition to that of Çrīpura.

No less a prince than Sanatkumāra, widely known in Jaina tradition as one of the 'emperors' (*cakravartin*), destined to become ruler of the heavenly Vidyādhara, and ultimately, one of the great Sages, is subjected to the Potiphar test, in *Samarādityasamkṣepa*, 5, 104 ff. One day he is called by a tire-woman to the presence of queen Anaṅgavatī, wife of his father, king Yaçovarman of Çvetavī. He tells her, "Mother, issue your command," and she confesses that she is seeking protection from the attacks of the five-armed God (Love) in his embraces. When he repulses her by saying, "Give some command suitable to a son, you are my mother," she pretends to have merely tested his virtue. But he is afterwards visited by an officer of the king, named Vinayāmdhara, who tells him that the king had found his queen Anaṅgavatī in tears, lacerated by nails. She had told the king that she had been assaulted by Sanatkumāra. Thereupon, the king had commissioned him to slay Sanatkumāra secretly. The prince, unwilling to endanger his mother, Anaṅgavatī, by revealing her true character, bids the officer slay him. But Sanatkumāra had once conferred a great benefit upon the officer's parents. He, therefore, allows him to escape; to gain his heart's desire, the hand of the princess Vilāsavatī, daughter of the king of Tāmalīptī; and to obtain sovereignty over the Vidyādhara.

As one of Prince Pāla's trials<sup>12</sup> which he has to endure before succeeding his father as king of Ujjayinī, he hits upon a caravan, and is retained by its owner. One night the merchant's wife, who has noticed his beauty, solicits him with seductive tricks. Pāla, averse to others' wives (*paranārī-parāṇmukha*), repulses her, and she, offended in her feelings, raises the cry: "A man is attempting to infringe upon my

<sup>12</sup> *Pālagopālakathānakam*, stanzas 174-180; see below, p. 164 f.



chastity: see who he is!" The merchants of the caravan fall upon him, but every blow upon his body produces ornaments of jewels and gold, owing to the magic power of his virtue. A divine voice in the air sings the praises of Pāla, and bids the merchants to release him, because he is flawless. That the motif is constantly in the minds of the Jaina fictionists may be seen from the fact that the entire novel is based upon the exile of two young princes, upon one of whom his step-mother practices the Potiphar trick. Thus the motif is employed, rather awkwardly, twice in the same novelette; see below, p. 164 f.

*Pārçvanātha*, III, 325 ff., treats the second of the 'worldly virtues,' or lighter vows of a householder (*aṇuvrata*), namely *viveka*, or 'discernment.' A boy, named Sumati, is destined by fate to become a rake, gambler, and thief, but, at the same time, by special dispensation, he is also gifted with *viveka*. Thus every evil propensity of his nature is, at the crucial moment, stayed or corrected by his discernment. Once, Sumati, who is occupying the station of the king's chaplain (*purohita*), hereditary in his family, is solicited by one of the queens, who is charmed with his person. Just as Sumati, being of evil mind, starts to proceed to her, he is instructed by his discernment. "Out upon my great folly which makes my mind, while I am living in perfect comfort, turn wickedly to the king's beloved, who should be as a mother to me. He who turns to another's wife has his head cut off in this world, suffers in hell in the next world, and is overwhelmed by disgrace, as was Indra when he violated Ahalyā."<sup>13</sup> He therefore determines to preserve his chastity (*paranārīśahodarya*), overcoming by discernment his inborn propensity.

There is scarcely a Jaina narrative text which does not seize upon the ever-present opportunity to contrast good

<sup>13</sup> Lechery, adultery, and incest of the gods are frequently and systematically alluded to in Hindu literature; see the preliminary note, "David and Uriah," in my *Life of Pārçvanātha*, 206. The particular crime of God Indra, in seducing Ahalyā, wife of the Sage Gāutama, is a favorite Hindu legend from the time of the Brāhmaṇas; see Weber, *S. B. A. W.* 1887, pp. 903 ff.



Joseph with wicked Madam Potiphar, especially in the course of their much beloved adventure-stories. Thus *Mallinātha*, VIII, 500 ff.; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 26; *Uttamacaritrakathānakam*, stanzas 44 ff.; *Dharmakalpadruma*, IV, 8; 5 ff.; Dharmacandra's *Malayasundarī-Kathoddhāra*, translated by Hertel in *Indische Märchen*, pp. 185 ff. (see pp. 202 ff.).

All these have their interest, but I prefer to treat more fully a piquant story in which the motif is developed to its highest point in Vijayadharmasūri's *Mallinātha Caritra*, VII, 198 ff. The story is again told in illustration of the fourth of the five lighter vows (*curyam anuvratam*), here designated as *abrahma-virati*, 'unbroken chastity' (see above, p. 150). Neither in Buddhist nor Jaina narrative does the rather salacious, and quite Boccaccian character of such a story collide the least bit with its moral application. In Campā rules King Dadhivāhana with his queen Abhayā, who is attended by a sly duenna, named Paṇḍitā. In the same city lives a rich merchant, Vṛṣabhadāsa (or Rṣabhadāsa) whose wife Arhaddāsī bears him a son who is called Sudarçana, 'Handsome.' After growing into manhood, endowed with every bodily and spiritual perfection, he is married to a lovely maiden of good family, Manoramā. After his father takes the Jaina vow (*dīkṣā*), he is left in possession of all his belongings, and lives as a Āraddha<sup>14</sup> of high quality, honored alike by the king and his fellow-citizens.

Now Sudarçana has an intimate friend, Kapila, chaplain (*purodhā*) of the king. His beautiful wife, Kapilā, clever and endowed with the 64 accomplishments of a well-born lady, is rendered wayward by youth's love-fervor. One day Kapila praises his friend Sudarçana as "a galaxy of virtues, delightful even to the gods." From that moment Kapilā knows no peace in her desire to see Sudarçana. Her husband happens to go to another town on the business of the king; she scents opportunity, and instructs a duenna of hers to go

<sup>14</sup> A certain grade of lay religious, coupled with *bhadraka*; see my *Life of Pārçvanātha*, p. 166.

to Sudarçana, and say to him that his friend, her husband, is sick; why does he not come to make inquiry about him? Sudarçana tenderly hastens over and says: "Wife of my brother, where is my brother?" She tells him that he is asleep in his chamber, let him quickly go there. Finding that his friend is not there, he reproves her, "Wife of my brother, why do you fool me like a child?" She bares her heart, navel, breasts, and from her eyes dart the missiles of Kāma<sup>15</sup> upon him. She says: "From the moment that I heard an account of your beauty and all your other excellencies, I have burned with the love of you. Quench my body with the ambrosia of your beauty, else it shall become a heap of ashes in the fire of Kandarpa."<sup>15</sup> Craftily Sudarçana holds her off by claiming that he is a eunuch, though he goes about in the garb of a man. He makes his escape, reflecting that it is not safe to go to another's house whose inmates may be full of guile.

Comes spring when King Love awakes from his slumbers, when groves are alive with bees and birds, and on the branches of every tree hangs a pleasure-swing. To disport themselves in such a grove come King Dadhivāhana and his retinue; Sudarçana in all his beauty; the Brahman Kapila with his wife Kapilā; Queen Abhayā; and also Manoramā, Sudarçana's wife, with her four children. When Kapilā sees Manoramā playing about, she asks her friend, Queen Abhayā, who she may be, and learns that Manoramā and her children are Sudarçana's family. Kapilā exclaims: "Gracious me, how clever are the wives of merchants; her husband is a eunuch, however came the children? As easily would a lotus grow in the sky, or the wind be tied up in the knot of a garment."<sup>16</sup> When the queen asks her to explain, she relates her escapade with Sudarçana. The queen laughs at her, and teases her by saying that though she thinks herself wise, she does not understand the true meaning of the science of love (*kāma-*

<sup>15</sup> Name of the god of love.

<sup>16</sup> The knot of a garment is the ordinary Hindu pocket.



*çāstrārtha*). “This merchant is ever a eunuch towards the beautiful loves of other men, as though they be sisters, but not towards his own wife. You have been tricked by the guile of this cunning man, you foolish woman.” Kapilā acknowledges the scorn, and at the same time points out ironically, we may guess, that the queen is brilliant with skill in the *kāmaçāstra*. She, therefore, challenges her to try her hand: “I shall know for certain your cleverness in matters of love, if, O queen, you shall make Sudarçana sport with you, without shame, just as if he were the king.”

Queen Abhayā accepts the dare, returns to the palace, and holds counsel with her old confidential nurse Paṇḍitā. She bids her play some deceptive trick (*kāitavanātaka*) which would bring her together with Sudarçana. The duenna remonstrates: it is not proper that she, the beloved of the king, should do a thing which works mischief both in this and the next world. Moreover Sudarçana is a pious householder, who regards others' wives as sisters (*paranārīśahodara*). How is he to be brought to the palace like a noble elephant from the forest? Yea, if he should come, he would not do as the queen desires. The queen insists that she has bet with Kapilā, and the nurse finally proposes the following device: Sudarçana is in the habit of fasting on each day of the four changes of the moon, standing silently in some public place in the abstracted *kāyotsarga* posture. She will then wrap him in the folds of her garment; lead him roundabout two or three times; and introduce him into the palace by pretending to the door-guards that he is an image of Kandarpa, the god of love. All this happens as planned. When Queen Abhayā sees him, she begins to agitate him with the unfeathered yet sharp darts from her side-wise coquettish eyes. She asks him to take pity, and bestow upon her the ambrosial paradise pleasure of his embraces: “To what purpose do you, foolish man, practice the rigors of asceticism, now that you have me, who would be hard to reach even by ascetic vows.” And afterwards, “Why do you spurn me, an unprotected female, that



is being slain by the arrows of the god of love? Surely you can take pity on a woman. Thinking of you, my days became long as a hundred *kalpas*; my nights long as days of Brahmā.<sup>17</sup> In my far-roving dreams I have you before my eyes in a thousand shapes, single-shaped though you be."

But dharma-devoted Sudarçana firmly spurns her. Abhayā keeps on all night, luring him with her body's charms and with artful songs. Dawn, gathering up the darkness with her hands (rays), rises, as if for the express purpose of looking at Sudarçana, pure in devotion to his wife.

Sudarçana's obduracy drives Abhayā to threats: "This vow of yours shall not block fate! I shall now tear my body with crores of nail scratches, and make a wild outcry (*phutka-riṣyetarām*)."

When yet he is not shaken, she rouses the palace with her shrieks—for devoted as well as disaffected women both kill: "Hear, ye guards. This fellow, forcibly bent upon showing me love, is tearing me with his sharp nails. Run quickly, run!" The king comes to the spot, asks Sudarçana what he has to say, but he stands silent. The king orders him to be impaled upon a stake. To the ear-piercing cry of "Runner after other men's wives!" the executioners set him on the back of an ass, a nimba-leaf turban upon his head, his body smeared with soot.<sup>18</sup> Bitterly they mock him as they exhibit him through the great city, on the way to the "grove of the Fathers," i.e., the cemetery which is the place of execution. But Sudarçana keeps thinking on the five-fold obeisance to the Jaina Saviors (Arhats), the *pañcanamaskṛti*.

Now Manoramā, Sudarçana's noble wife, hears his evil story. She does not believe that her wise, law-abiding, and chaste husband can have made advances to the king's chief wife, but, on the contrary, suspects her of a trick, because, empty of soul, though lovely outside, she is a very treasury

<sup>17</sup> A *kalpa* and a day of Brahmā are both fabulously long periods of time.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. with this the description of the death march in *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*, 4, 184 ff., and similar practices (*A. J. P.* XL, 228).



of guile. What will not an impure woman do, when thwarted in her desires? A woman loosed from the scabbard of her modesty becomes a fear-inspiring sword. Manoramā then bathes, puts on white robes, and without delay worships an image of the Arhat. Before the Arhat's executive female divinity<sup>19</sup> she makes by proxy a truth-declaration in behalf of her husband: "If this Sudarçana is indifferent to the wives of others, then let me be united with him at once!"

By the force of Manoramā's spiritual power the Arhat's ancillary divinity arrives at the place of execution, where Sudarçana sits impaled upon the stake. She turns the stake into a throne. When the executioners hold their sharp swords to Sudarçana's throat, these turn into garlands, lovely with bees buzzing about them. The rope around his neck becomes a jeweled necklace. She produces by her magic a rock which she holds over the city, like a lid about to shut down on it. The divinity threatens to let down the rock upon sinful king, retinue, and citizens alike. She chides the king for not having understood the character of his wife, and compels him to expiate his sin by placing Sudarçana upon a noble elephant, and holding, like an umbrella-bearer, the royal umbrella over his head. Thus Sudarçana, to the exultant shouts of the citizens, lauded by bards, to the beat of festal drums, returns to his home. The king then takes holy vows, but Abhayā hangs herself, and is reborn as a Vyantara demon. The pander-nurse, Paṇḍitā, flees to Pāṭaliputra, where she lives in the house of the hetaera, Devadattā (379).

The motif is so much alive with the Jainas that it is possible for a virtuous, wise woman to employ it as an object-lesson of other women's trickery, taught to the husband of a lewd wife. The story, Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara*, no. 141 (Hertel's Translation, II, 95 ff.), speaks for itself; it shrewdly carries the Potiphar motif farthest from its original intention. The Brahman Uddhava, learned but not world-wise, and

<sup>19</sup> Every Jaina Savior has his own, known as *çāsanadevatā*, *çāsanadevī*, or *çāsanasundarī*; see my *Life of Pārçvanātha*, pp. 19, note; 167, note.



therefore called 'Learned Noodle' by all the world, has a lewd wife, Bharanī. The wife, desirous of having him out of the house, tells him that people are mocking him for a fool. Thereupon he goes to Benares, studies yet more, and then returns home. His wife, impatient of his interfering presence, asks him whether he has studied the wiles of women, and he has to confess that he has not done so. "Like the body without the breath of life, like the face without an eye, so is all knowledge without this branch of science." Thereupon he travels to Maheçvarapura, and asks the Brahman lady Harinī, whom he meets at the town well: "Is there any one in this city who can teach the wiles of women?"

She guesses that some wanton wife has driven him from home, and proposes to teach him herself. She takes him to her house, presents him to her husband as her brother, bathes and feeds him, and by night asks him in his chamber for his love. He refuses, saying: "You are my sister!" She closes the door, and cries aloud: "Kaṇṭhe lagnaḥ!" (help, help!) Now one meaning of *kaṇṭhe lagnaḥ* is, 'he is hanging about my neck.' When the inmates of the house rush to the door, poor Uddhava says, "I promise without fail to do what you want, if only you will get me out of this scrape." Then she throws a dish filled with the leavings of his meal upon the ground, opens the door, and explains: "My brother has been taken sick with cholera, and during his attack a bite got stuck in his throat. Therefore I said, 'kaṇṭhe lagnaḥ,' and called for help." Here *kaṇṭhe lagnaḥ* means, 'it is stuck in the throat.'

When all is quiet, she asks whether he now comprehends women's wiles. When he answers "no," she interprets for him his wife's conduct. He returns home; understands now the goings on there; is taken with *vāirāgya*, 'world-disgust'; and turns monk.

As regards secular literature, I am acquainted with the Potiphar motif only from four stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The most important of these, 49, 30 ff., describes the conflict



between the wise minister Guṇaṇḍarman and his sovereign Mahāsena. Here Guṇaṇḍarman plays Joseph to the Madam Potiphar of Mahāsena's queen, Aṇḍokavatī, as part cause of the suspiciousness and unwisdom of Mahāsena in relation to his good, brave, and noble minister. The story approaches the type of larger novel in which the Potiphar incident figures as an important incident, but is not the main theme. Even here, as also in three minor stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the inherent moralism of the Joseph motif is not effaced, though it is overlaid with other elements, not so much ethical as imaginative. Queen Aṇḍokavatī, having beheld the beauty and skill of Guṇaṇḍarman, thinks, "If I cannot obtain him, of what use is life to me?" Artfully she asks the king to order Guṇaṇḍarman to teach her to play on the lyre. Guṇaṇḍarman temporises by putting off the practising to an auspicious day, because he sees the changed expression of the queen and is afraid of some mischief.

In the end, when he begins to teach, the queen indulges in perpetual coquetry, laughter, and mirth. One day, she scratches him with her nails secretly, finally saying, "It was yourself that I asked for, handsome man, under pretext of learning to play the lute, for I am desperately in love with you, so consent to my wishes." Guṇaṇḍarman protests loyally, whereupon she asks, "Why do you possess in vain this beauty and skill in accomplishments? How can you look with a passionless eye on one who loves you so much?" Guṇaṇḍarman replies sarcastically, "You are right. What is the use of that beauty and skill which is not tarnished with infamy by seducing another's wife, and which does not in this world and the next world cause one to fall into the ocean of Hell?" The queen threatens to slay him before she dies. Guṇaṇḍarman replies that it is better to live one moment righteously rather than hundreds of crores unrighteously, and with reproach upon one's name.

The queen lures him still further; she will get Mahāsena to bestow territories upon him, and to make his servants barons,

so that he will have naught to fear, and no one can overpower him. Guṇaçarman, in order to gain time, puts her off until there comes a day when Mahāsenā goes out to war. By the astuteness of Guṇaçarman he wins victory; and has his life saved several times by Guṇaçarman's valor and skill in magic. When they return, Açokavatī continues to solicit vainly Guṇaçarman by day and night. But as he continues obdurate, she affects one day to be tearful and unhappy. When questioned by the fond king, she says with pretended reluctance, "You have no power to punish the man who has injured me; he is not a man you can chastise, so what is the use of revealing the injury to no purpose?" The king presses, and she finally accuses Guṇaçarman, who had saved five times the life of the king, of plotting to murder him, and to corrupt herself. But for the timely appearance of her maid, Pallavikā, he would have outraged her. When the queen has finished her false tale, she stops and weeps. For in the beginning wicked woman sprang from Lying Speech.

Açokavatī prevails upon Mahāsenā to denounce Guṇaçarman in open assembly, before the other ministers, who hate him. He is driven away from court and country, but, in due time, returns, conquers Mahāsenā, proclaims to the people the immodest conduct of Açokavatī, and obtains the dominion of the earth.

An echo of this story, with extra touches, occurs in the *Kathāprakāṣa*; see *Gurupūjākāumudī*, p. 125. In *Kathāsaritsāgara*, xx, 118 ff., Kālarātri, a witch, wife of the Brahman Viṣṇusvāmin, pursues with her love his pupil Sundaraka, practices twice the Potiphar trick upon him, is ultimately found out and discomfited. Similarly, in *Kathās.* vii, 57 ff., a young Brahman, Devadatta, pupil of the teacher Vedakumbha, is persecuted by the latter's wife, and has to turn to a professor with an old wife. A curious variant of the Joseph motif in *Kathās.* xxx, 40 ff. tells how an unmarried younger brother, Viçvadatta, is solicited by the wives of each of his older brothers, Brahmadata and Somadata. He



repels their advances, as if each had been his mother. They accuse him falsely to their husbands, who trickily send him to an ant-hill to dig for treasure, in the hope that he will be bitten by a venomous snake living there. A farmer warns him, but he will not disobey the order of his elder brothers, out of affection for them. He digs out a pitcher full of gold, and not a venomous snake, for "virtue is an auxiliary of the good." He gives the pitcher to his brothers who hire assassins with part of its gold to cut off his hands and feet. When so mutilated, he remains free from anger against his brothers; his hands and feet grow again. The story has a Buddhist cast.

There is, finally, a rather common type of story in which a co-wife (stepmother) gives a start to the adventures of two princes who are destined for great things. In one version the stepmother really falls in love with one of the princes, is repulsed with horror, and resorts to the Potiphar trick. But in a number of versions it is merely dislike on the part of the stepmother, either brought about by some venial offence on the part of the princes, or merely instinctive. Thus, as regards the latter form, *Pārçvanātha*, VII, 33 ff. introduces two meritorious souls, born as the princes Amarasena and Varasena in the womb of Vijayādevī, wife of the Kaliṅga king, Sūrasena. A relative of Sūrasena dispossesses him of his kingdom, but Sūrasena finds favor with the king of Gajapura, who presents him with four villages, in one of which, Sukara, he resides. The two boys grow up, beautiful and accomplished, but a co-wife, Jayā by name, conceives hatred against them. Once, Sūrasena goes to serve his patron king. On his return Jayā feigns anger, and enters the 'anger-chamber' (*kopa-gr̥ha*).<sup>20</sup> She accuses the two boys of having made improper advances to her which she has barely succeeded in

<sup>20</sup> This is what we might call a 'swearing-room.' It occurs also as *kopāukas* (glossed *kopagr̥ha*) in *Mahāvīra Caritra*, I, 91; *Mallinātha Caritra*, II, 286; and as *kopasaṁstyāya*, *ib.* II, 45. This institution seems also to be alluded to in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, p. 412. It is paralleled by *çokāgāra*, 'grief-chamber,' *Divyāvadāna*, p. 287, l. 13.

warding off. "Act now in accordance with the customs of a noble family (*kulocitam*)."<sup>21</sup> Sūrasena, uxorious and gullible, in wrath, orders a trusty Mātaṅga<sup>21</sup> servitor, Caṇḍa by name, to go outside the village, where the two boys are innocently sporting with their horses, to cut off their heads, and show them to him. The Mātaṅga, wondering why the king is so enraged at his two virtuous and proper boys, goes to them and tells them. They, in turn, charge him to do as their father commands; they must have committed some heinous crime, else their father would not have given so severe an order. Caṇḍa induces them to take flight, after first allaying their fear for his own safety. He takes their two horses to show the king, and has two skulls of clay fashioned and painted over.<sup>22</sup> These also he shows the king, who orders him to throw them into a hole outside the village.

The two boys start on their adventures, in the course of which Amarasena is chosen by the five-oracle method as king of Kāñcanapura, and Varasena becomes his minister. In the end they are reunited with their father. The stepmother is forgiven, because she has been instrumental in procuring the boys' kingdom; trusty Caṇḍa is rewarded.

Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, pp. 410 ff., tells the tale of the two princes Rūp and Bussant, hated by their stepmother queen, and ultimately driven out by her into lives of tangled adventure. She accuses them of having insulted her and "treated her with violence." The two princes become respectively king and minister of another country. A childlike version of this story is reported by Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 138 ff., under the caption, "The Two Brothers." Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, in the fourth volume of the Cambridge Translation of the *Jātaka*, p. 117, note, cites a manuscript version of this story under the title of "Legend of Sit and Basant," probably

<sup>21</sup> A low-caste man who ordinarily acts as executioner.

<sup>22</sup> For this motif (order to slay disobeyed) see my bibliographic note, *Life of Pārçvanātha*, p. 147, note 7.



much the same as the story of Swet-Basanta, in Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 93 ff. He also cites a "Legend of Puran Mal" (manuscript written by Rām Gharīb Sharmā, Chāturvaidyā, collected by Mr. W. Crooke). In both of these the queen falls in love with her stepson.

A variant of this story rationalizes cleverly the dislike of the queen which is not well motivated in the preceding type, by introducing the idea of natural rivalry between the two princes. In *Mallinātha Caritra*, II, 36 ff., King Paramtapa of Candrakalā has two chief (turbaned) wives, Yaçovatī and Somā, who have each a son, respectively, Padmaçekhara and Sūra. Though of different mothers, the boys love one another as if they were twins. The younger wife, Somā, reflects that her son Sūra can never be king until Padmaçekhara is pulled up like the root of a tree. Feigning anger, she enters the anger-chamber, where the love-sick king finds her like a Vidyādhari who has lost her *vidyās*, or magic arts. "Have I, perchance, foolishly broken any of your commands, that your face has lost its brilliance, like the waning moon?" Somā answers darkly: "One can only hold in mind, not speak of, what has happened." When the king importunes her, she tells in tremulous syllables how Padmaçekhara, blinded by passion, had solicited her love, he, dust of the family. The king bids Caṇḍa, one of his body guards, to slay Padmaçekhara, but Caṇḍa, sensing the vile plot, tells him the incredible accusation. He flees to a forest where begin adventures that gain for him, by divine interference, not only the kingdom of Çubhāpura, but also his legitimate succession to his father Paramtapa in Candrakalā.

There is also a two brothers' story of adventure in which a stepmother genuinely falls in love with them; practices the Potiphar device; and drives them out to adventure and Fortunatus destiny. It exists as an independent composition, *Pāla-gopāla-kathānakam*, its author being the well-known Jaina writer Jinakīrti.<sup>23</sup> The adventures of two princes,

<sup>23</sup> See Hertel, in *Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, LXIX (1917), part 4; also *Indische Erzähler*, VII (Leipzig, 1922).

Pāla and Gopāla, are here elaborated into something like a picaresque novel, into which are woven many extraneous motifs. King Mahāsenā of Ujjayinī has a chief queen Surasundarī; his second queen is Mahālakṣmī; Pāla and Gopāla are his sons by Surasundarī. The king is out in the forest for a month to avert by penance some evil threatened by a dream; his sons are with him. On the nineteenth day of the penance month his sons are permitted to dance back to the palace dressed up, jocundly and comically, we may presume, as Bhillas, or forest-robbers. Mahālakṣmī, fascinated by their grace, sends a tricky duenna to Pāla with the message, "A great serpent has bitten your mother, Mahālakṣmī; come to her and try to heal her with an antidote!" Pāla comes with a remedy, and says, "Drink this, then the pain from the poison will pass, dear mother!" Then the queen orders a servant to shut the door, and says, "The serpent which has bitten me is named Love; its bite has thrown me into a swoon. Pour out upon me the ambrosia flood of your embraces; they will swiftly restore my life!"

Pāla, as if struck by thunder, leaps through the window; the queen remains behind in deep dudgeon. She lacerates herself with her nails, and when the king returns, he finds her in tears, glib with the obligato accusation. The king refuses to believe that Pāla is guilty, any more than darkness can radiate from the sun, or burning coal rain down from the moon. But when she threatens to enter the fire, the uxorious king asks what he must do to keep her, and the evil woman demands the heads of the two princes. The king orders his minister to execute them; the boys offer to cut off their own heads; but the minister advises them to go into exile, for "Fortune comes only to the living." He fashions two heads of clay and shows them to the king, who is at once overtaken by grief and regret. The princes start upon adventures, in the course of which Gopāla is selected by the five-oracle method as king of Tāmraliptī, whose ruler has just died without heir. Pāla joins him in his high station, and the pair in due time



regain the succession to their own kingdom of Ujjayinī. Their father turns monk; Mahālakṣmī dies in evil thought, and is reborn in hell.

I may remark, in conclusion, that the Hindu stories, with all their many variations, show in general the same moments as does the Biblical story. (1) The hero of the story is of beautiful person and character. (2) The wayward wife is unable to resist his charms. (3) The hero rejects her overtures. (4) The woman shams virtue, and constructs a 'frame-up' which takes in her husband. (5) Out of consequent danger, misfortune, or degradation, the hero emerges to vindication and fortune.

As regards the first moment, the association of the Potiphar motif with the two brother princes is clearly secondary.<sup>24</sup> The most important deviation from the Biblical form concerns the second moment, which appears occasionally without the woman's infatuation. In such case, she merely desires, for reasons of her own, to destroy Joseph. Or, she has laid a wager that she is well enough versed in the art of seduction to lay him by the heels. Or, she desires to show how resourceful, tricky, and unscrupulous are women in amorous intrigue.

But the story has another salient in a most unexpected direction. In the King James version of Genesis, 30: 6, Joseph is said to have been "a goodly person and well-favored." In the Rabbinical Haggada and thence in the *Qurān* and its derivatives, his beauty is made much of. The *Qurān* tells that the women of the city mock Madam Potiphar, after she has been flouted by Joseph, and after her husband has become aware that her accusation is false. Then Potiphar's wife invites them to a feast, puts before each of them a knife, and tells Joseph to come and show himself. As they are preparing to eat oranges, they behold Joseph, *cut their hands*, and exclaim, "By heaven! This is no human being, but an adorable angel." Madam Potiphar comments: "Behold this is he on account of whom you have so blamed

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hertel, *l.c.*, p. 54.

me.”<sup>25</sup> Beauty that makes you cut your fingers when eating an orange is implied, rather than explicitly stated, in the Hindu description of Joseph. But the Hindu fancy has evolved something precisely antipodal and paradoxical, yet, in a manner, exigent. Happily married and abundantly provided-for married ladies have a way of being attracted by the exact opposite to Joseph. A stable-groom, a night watchman, a robber, or some other inferior person, but especially—with rasping paradox, of course—a “headless,” hump-backed, ulcerous, leprous, evil-smelling, and altogether loathsome cripple attracts their wayward fancy. In an instance or two the cripple<sup>26</sup> flouts the woman for a while; in the end he always accepts; but, with an eye to both drama and moral, maltreats and humiliates her, and she endures it all. This is the type of the *Sussondi* (*Suṣroṇi*) and *Dhūminī* stories, for which see *J. A. O. S.* xxxvi, 79. They form a separate chapter in the long Hindu account of women’s perverseness, instability, and perfidy, which calls for independent treatment later on.

<sup>25</sup> This motif, which has run a far career, is elaborated by Köhler and Bolte in Köhler’s *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 79 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *E.g.*, several in *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (536); *Mānikyasūri’s Yaçodharacaritra*, in Hertel’s *Geschichte von Pāla and Gopāla*, pp. 84 ff.; *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*, 4,260 ff.



XI.—*The Language of the Pseudo-Vergilian Catalepton with Especial Reference to its Ovidian Characteristics*

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In articles published both in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LII (1921), 162, and in the *American Journal of Philology*, XLIV (1923), 16, I have repeatedly declared my intention of examining the language of the 'Vergilian' *Catalepton* thoroughly and minutely with a view to showing that Ovid is beyond question the author of the various poems which it contains. Although there are other vital parts of the Appendix—the great *Priapea* and the *Maecenas* especially—which admit of comparatively easy treatment and bring a speedy decision, yet there are several weighty reasons for singling out the *Catalepton* at the present time for immediate study. In the first place those scholars who at various times have sought to find genuine traces of Vergil in the Appendix have always hoped that some at least of the poems of the *Catalepton* which contain interesting biographical allusions and details might somehow be proved to be authentic. Hence many who have rejected all other parts of the Appendix without hesitation have wished to retain Vergilian authorship for those pieces which mention, even in the briefest manner, Varius and Tucca, the poet's friends (VII and I), and Siron, his teacher (VIII). Similarly the farewell which Vergil is supposed to address to the schools of rhetoric (V) and the prayer which he utters to Venus for aid in completing the *Aeneid* (XIV) have always excited a lively interest. In the second place the poems of the *Catalepton* are mostly short pieces and therefore admit of examination in an article of moderate length. With a view, however, to abridging still further the present study, I shall purposely omit for the present, because of its greater length, the most

Ovidian of all these poems, namely, *Catalepton*, ix, addressed to Ovid's patron Messalla, which Ribbeck (*App. Verg.*, p. 12) and many other scholars have rightly ascribed to 'Lygdamus' (*i.e.*, the youthful Ovid), and which has been expressly attributed to Ovid by Némethy in his admirable monograph, *De Ovidio elegiae in Messallam auctore*, Budapest, 1909.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, of the pieces which remain I shall treat only those which are composed in the elegiac metre, and I shall find it convenient to examine them in the following order: XIII\*, XIV, XIV\*, IV, XI, I\*, VIII, VII, I, II, III. The other pieces, which are written in iambic metres, I purposely reserve for a separate article; for although they exhibit almost as many Ovidian idioms and phrases as the elegiac poems, their vocabulary is necessarily different in part and includes many words which are excluded on metrical grounds from Ovid's later works, *e.g.*, words containing a cretic, as *natio* (v, 4), *mulio* (x, 2), *orbitosus* (x, 17), *semitalis* (x, 20), *impudicus* (XIII, 9), etc.<sup>2</sup>

Before I examine the language of the *Catalepton*, I wish, however, to modify in some important respects the views which I expressed in a former article, "The *Priapea* and the Vergilian Appendix," *T. A. P. A.* LII (1921), 148 ff., 158 ff., 162 f., respecting the number of the Vergilian 'impersonations' which are contained in the Appendix. These impersonations seem to me now to be somewhat more numerous than I was then disposed to admit, and not to be strictly limited to the single pieces, *Cat.* I, VII, VIII, and XIV. Furthermore, instead of distinguishing, as formerly, between the purpose of the playful forgeries in the two Appendices, I now hold that the Vergilian imitations, like the Tibullan, were composed expressly with a view to misleading the general public, and that Ovid, if he did not publish the two collections himself, at

<sup>1</sup> The Ovidian character of the vocabulary of this poem is also admirably shown by Fairclough, *T. A. P. A.* LIII (1922), 29.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction here made is neglected by Fairclough, and hence his examination of the vocabulary of the *Catalepton* (*op. cit.* 28-31) is misleading at this single point.



least prepared them both for publication and was influenced by the same motive in each case. Thus *Catalepton*, v, although it succeeds only in giving Ovid's farewell to Rome and to the Augustan schools of rhetoric in 18 B. C., was probably intended to depict Vergil's early study of philosophy under Siron a generation before. It is very possible too that the opening lines of the *Culex*, with the famous address to the "holy lad, worshipful Octavius" (vss. 24-41), seek purposely and deliberately to link the names of the youthful Vergil and the future Augustus. I have no doubt also that the concluding epigram of the *Catalepton* (xiv\*), which expressly asserts Vergilian authorship either for the *Catalepton* alone or for the whole Appendix, was composed by Ovid himself, and it is therefore properly included in the present study.

I may add also that the whole question of authorship has been much simplified, in my judgment, by Professor Fairclough's very complete and masterly analysis of the vocabulary of the Appendix.<sup>3</sup> For although many well-known scholars—such as Birt and Ganzenmüller, Némethy and P. Jahn—long ago pointed out the very close relationship subsisting between the language of numerous parts of the Appendix and the language of Ovid, it has always been possible hitherto to regard these resemblances as possessing a purely secondary character and to explain them as due to Ovid's constant imitation of the Appendix as a genuine Vergilian work. With whatever purpose, however, Professor Fairclough may have originally undertaken his study, he has undoubtedly ended by showing in the most convincing manner that the basic language of the Appendix is Ovidian, and not Vergilian. For he has demonstrated most clearly that a very large number of the non-Vergilian words which are found in the Appendix are "great favorites with Ovid," and therefore form an essential

<sup>3</sup> "The Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana," *T. A. P. A.* LIII (1922), 5 ff. I may note that Fairclough's article, covering so wide a field as it does, naturally contains a few omissions and even an occasional inaccuracy, but, in view of its superlative excellence, these minor errata must be considered wholly unimportant.



and striking part of Ovidian style. Hence, at the moment of disproving once and for all the Vergilian authorship of the collection, he has necessarily centered attention upon the peculiar bond which unites the Appendix with Ovid. In view therefore of the complete lack of any other great imitative and artistic genius in the later Augustan age, the only working hypothesis which remains intact is that of some close relationship with the historic Ovid, even though conceivably the exact nature of the relationship remains to be determined by further study. I think that a similar result may be claimed for the work of my own pupil, Professor R. F. Thomason, "Ovid and the *Ciris*," *Class. Phil.* XVIII (1923), 239-262, 334-344; XIX (1924), 147-156.

It must further be noted that the *Catalepton* is quite early in the date of its composition and that we can therefore make only a general study of its phraseology; we cannot employ here the specific Zingerle-Eschenburg tests of Ovidian authorship which are capable of being applied in a most striking way to the great *Priapea* and the *Maecenas* and even to the *Culex* and the *Moretum*. As is well known, these tests embrace, for the fifth foot of the hexameter, words in *-men* (*-mine*, *-mina*), *-bilis* and *-issimus*, and, for the second half of the pentameter, formations in *-tas* (*-tatis*, *-tate*), in *-osus*, and comparatives in *-ora* (*-ore*). In the *Catalepton* we have in the fifth foot only *certamine* (III, 7; IX, 29), *carmina* (IX, 13, 19, 59), *sub tegmine* (IX, 17), *dulcissime* (VII, 1), *optime* (IX, 9), *maxima* (XIV, 7).<sup>4</sup> A single one of the favorite Ovidian suffixes, namely, that in *-osus*, is somewhat in evidence in the *Catalepton*. It is true that we do not find (as in other parts of the Appendix) the Ovidian †*spatiosus*,<sup>5</sup> \**nivosus*, \**lacertosus*, †*invidiosus*, \**pruinus*, etc., but several formations of this kind do occur, which Ovid has not repeated later: *lutosus* (x, 12; also [Tib.] *Priap.* II, 18); *salivosus* (XIII, 29); *herniosus*

<sup>4</sup> The *Panegyric* is more advanced here; see Ehrenguber, *De Panegyrico*, II, 32; IX, 78.

<sup>5</sup> For the meaning of the dagger and asterisk, see below, p. 173.



(XIII, 39); *orbitosus* (x, 17), of which the last two are necessarily excluded from dactylic verse.

Many parts of the Appendix exhibit the newly coined words for which Ovid is noted; thus the *Culex* alone furnishes \**Cupidineus* (409); \**leto* (verb, 325), \**nectareus* (241), \**refoveo* (122, 213), \**Zanclaeus* (332), etc., while the *Moretum* has \**nocuus* (75), \**praeverro* (conj., 57), \**purgamina* (41), \**salebro-sus* (111), etc. Here again the *Catalepton* has little to show in the way of coinages which are repeated later: the only case which I have noted is \**Oenides* (ix, 6; 6 times in Ov.). †*Herois* (ix, 21; *Cul.* 261) occurs once in Propertius, which is also the case with †*Inachis* (ix, 33) and †*Pegasis* (ix, 2), though Linse (*De Ov. vocab. invent.*, p. 21) wrongly calls the latter an Ovidian innovation.

The metrical treatment may be briefly mentioned. The pentameters of the *Catalepton* have free polysyllabic endings in the great majority of cases (66 per cent). For Ovid was far too great an artist to employ exclusively the elegant Tibullan dissyllable in elegies which are composed very largely in the manner of Catullus, and several of which are expressly attributed to Vergil; see my remarks on this topic in *A. J. P.* XLIV, 10 f. and *T. A. P. A.* LII, 155. We know also that a greater freedom in the pentameter close was thoroughly characteristic of Ovid's youthful style; thus Quintilian, ix, 3, 70, quotes from our poet's lost epigrams a line with the trisyllabic close *furiam*; cf. also Ov. *Praef. arg. Aen.* (*P. L. M.* iv, no. 176), 4, *hoc satis est*. Further the great *Priapea* still shows six polysyllabic closes and the double *Epistles* show three (L. Müller, *De re metrica*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 29, 259). Some information on the schemata of the *Catalepton* is given in my article "Tibullus and Ovid," *A. J. P.* XLIV, 302-313.

In the following study bold-faced type is employed for all combinations of words which are repeated in the later Ovid,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The 'later Ovid' includes all the poems attributed openly to Ovid on good manuscript authority. The term therefore comprises many poems which have

even if these happen to occur in other poets also. A phrase, however, which is common to the Vergilian Appendix and to Ovid alone among the poets of the Golden Age (from Lucretius to Ovid), is marked also with an asterisk (\*); a phrase which occurs in one other poet only of the Golden Age has a dagger (†) prefixed to it. With respect to single words which occur in Ovid, but not in Vergil, the fact is noted, but no mark is usually employed. Except where it departs from the *codices*, Vollmer's text of the *Catalepton*, in his edition of the Appendix Vergiliana, *P. L. M.* 1,<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1910, is made the basis of the present study. In statistics of usage App. Verg. is used for that part of the Vergilian Appendix which is treated in Wetmore's *Index Vergilianus*. The usage of the *Aetna* is given from the index appended to Ellis's edition of that poem, and that of the *Rosetum*, *Priapea*, and *Maecenas* from the writer's own collections. A figure before the name of an author indicates the number of times the preceding word or expression is found in that author's works; '0 Verg., etc.' means that there are no occurrences of the word in Vergil or in any of the poets of the Golden Age except those expressly cited.

## XIII \*

This is a piece given by Vollmer only in his textual notes (p. 140); it is numbered XIII *a* by Ellis and XVI by Birt.

2 †non minor: see note on XIV\*. ingenia pl.: 10 Ov., 2 Verg., 1 Prop.

3 †doctis Athenis: *Her.* 2, 83; Prop. I, 6, 13; III, 21, 1. (*Athenae*, 0 Verg.)

4 \*nulli \*vincere fata datur: cf. *ad Liv.* 234, non \*ullis vincere fata datur. \*vincere fata: 4 Ov. (*Met.* II, 617; *ad Liv.* 234; *Trist.* III, 6, 18, *fatum*; *Her.* 1, 28); cf. *fata superet*, *Met.* IX, 430; Birt quotes Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 612, *deos et fata vici*. Somewhat different is Verg. *Aen.* XI, 160, *vivendo vici mea fata*, 'I have outlived my span of years,' i.e., lived longer than the natural period, where the phrase *vivendo vincere*, which is equivalent, according to Servius, to *supervivere*, is drawn from Lucr. (I, 202; III, 948); see Lillge, *De elegiis in Maecen.*, p. 40. Elsewhere Vergil has *fata flecti* (*Aen.* VI, 376), *fatis infracta* (V, 784), *frangimur* (VII, 594). Ovid has not *ferrea fata*, but cf. *Met.* XV, 781, *ferrea veterum decreta sororum*.

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been unjustly doubted, namely, the *Halieutica*, *Consolatio ad Liviam*, *Heroides*, XV-XXI, *de Medicamine Faciei*, *Ibis*, and *Nux*, in short, all the works contained in the Burman edition, excepting only the spurious *Epistles of Sabinus*.



As I have pointed out in a previous article (*T. A. P. A.* LII, 168; cf. also Bücheler, *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii, 524), *Cat.* XIII\* probably does not really belong to the *Catalepton* roll, but has been preserved from a closely related part of the Appendix, namely, the *Epigrammata*, on the preservation of which see *T. A. P. A.* LII, 167 f. Although they are attributed to Vergil, it can scarcely be denied that they are really the work of Ovid, who has actually repeated unwittingly in *Trist.* II, 33 f. the whole distich beginning *Si quotiens peccant* (*Anth. Lat.* 262). This general conclusion, already probable on other grounds, is fully confirmed by a detailed study of the language, which I expect to publish later.

#### XIV

In *Catalepton*, XIV Vergil is represented as praying to Venus that she will grant him strength to finish his *Aeneid* and as promising the goddess a costly sacrifice performed in a public and formal manner, in case his prayer is granted. Augustus also is introduced as joining in the prayer from the temple of Venus on the Surrentine shore. It has been clearly shown, however, by several well-known scholars, notably by Bücheler, *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii (1883), 523 f., and by Sommer, *Catalepton* (Halle, 1910), pp. 68 ff., that the poem was composed after the death of Vergil, and is therefore a playful forgery or an impersonation "in the scholastic manner." Thus it is evident from the very first verse that the actual writer knows well that Vergil never lived to complete the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, as Bücheler points out, the whole conception of the poem presupposes a later generation which was accustomed to reading the *Aeneid*, and which had never known the free Republic but had always lived under the imperial régime. Venus, Aeneas, and Augustus are associated together in the piece in a manner quite similar to that which we find in the third book of Propertius (*e.g.*, 4, 19 f.), published B.C. 22 or 21. Numerous Vergilian phrases also are introduced into the poem in a way which suggests an imitator rather than Vergil himself. Bü-

cheler enumerates here *maximus taurus victima* (Geor. II, 147), *Romana per oppida* (Geor. II, 176), *Troius Aeneas* (Aen. I, 596), *mille coloribus* (Aen. V, 609), *decurrere munus* (cf. Geor. II, 39, *decurre laborem*), *adsis o* (Aen. IV, 578; VIII, 78). Four imitations, omitted both by Bücheler and by Sommer, should be added: *susceptum munus* (Aen. VI, 629); cf. *coloribus alas* (Aen. VII, 191); *in morem* (Geor. I, 245; Aen. V, 556); *litoris ora* (Geor. I, 44; Aen. III, 396; also *Cul.* 313 and *Prop.* I, 20, 9). Bücheler therefore concludes very aptly as follows: "Aliquanto post (Varium et Tuccam) cultorem Aeneidis et admiratorem lusisse ista arbitror, qui more scholastico induerit personam Vergilii. Summa carminis . . . magis quam Vergilium decet Propertium vel Ovidium vel Lollius Bassum." Yet admirable as are Bücheler's judgments respecting the poem as a whole, it was impossible for him, without a more detailed study of the language, to determine who the actual impersonator was. As soon as we examine the piece minutely, however, we find that, in addition to many phrases which are common to Ovid and to Vergil, or to Ovid and to Tibullus, etc., it contains in its twelve lines at least six expressions which are found in Ovid alone among the poets of the Golden Age. In other respects the vocabulary is Ovidian, not Vergilian, as shown in the notes below, especially by *tabella* and *Surrentinus* (cf. also *corniger*). Critics are agreed that the poem is one of great finish and charm; see Naeke, *Valerius Cato*, p. 232.

1 †*susceptum munus*: *Rem. Am.* 154; *Verg. Aen.* VI, 629.

2 \**quae colis*: *Am.* II, 13, 8; *Met.* IX, 774; cf. *Trist.* V, 10, 23 (*qui colere audeat*). *Catull.* 36, 12—which is here imitated (v. Danysz, *De poet. studiis Catull.* 29)—has the separated form, *quae sanctum Idalium . . . colis*; cf. 61, 17, *Idalium colens*. *Ov.* has *quem* (*quam*, *quos*, *quas*) *colis* 5 times, not to mention *quae . . . colis* (*Pont.* IV, 15, 24), *quos . . . colit* (*Trist.* I, 10, 45), etc. *Verg.* has only *quos colit* (*Aen.* V, 63) and *quem . . . colit* (VII, 603). In general *Ov.* is fond of unseparated forms, e.g., *quod petis* (9 times). †*Paphon*: the Greek form, as *Priap.* 76, 14 (*Cnidos Paphosque*) and 3 times in *Ov.*: *Met.* X, 297; 530; *Am.* II, 17, 4 (Ehwald gives *Paphum* once, *A. A.* II, 588); also *Hor. Carm.* III, 28, 14. According to Sommer, *Catalepton*, p. 69, n. 1, Vergil uses only the form *Paphus* (-um): *Aen.* X, 51; 86; I, 415. Cf. also *Cat.*



v, 5, *cymbalon*; *Cul.* 401, *hyacinthos*; *Met.* x, 217, *Hyacinthon*. On Ovid's marked preference for Greek forms, v. Thomason, *Class. Phil.* xviii, 336 f., and May, *De stilo epyll. Roman.*, p. 55.

3 †Troius Aeneas: *Met.* xiv, 156; Verg. *Aen.* i, 596, etc. †Romana per oppida: *ad Liv.* 173; Verg. *Geor.* ii, 176. per oppida: *ad Liv.* 33; Verg. *Aen.* xi, 581. \*per oppida ire: *Met.* vi, 146; *ad Liv.* 173 f.

4 *dignum carmen* (*digna carmina*): 3 Ov., 1 Verg., 4 App. Verg., 1 *Priap.* (2, 2), 1 Prop., 1 Hor., 2 Lucr. Cf. †iam tandem: 4 Verg., 3 *Cir.*

5 *tabella*: 45 Ov., 0 Verg., 2 App. Verg., 1 *Aetna*. *picta tabella*: 1 Ov. (*Am.* iii, 7, 62), 1 Tib., 2 Hor., 0 Verg., etc.; Prop. has *tabulae pictae* (iii, 21, 29).

6 \*serta feram: *A. A.* ii, 734. *purae manus*: 4 Ov. (*Am.* i, 12, 16; *Met.* ix, 702; *Fast.* iii, 335; v, 435), 1 Tib., 1 Prop., 2 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.).

7 *corniger*: 13 Ov., 1 Verg., therefore 4:1.<sup>7</sup> *corniger aries*: cf. Prop. iii, 13, 39, *corniger* . . . *dux aries*.

9 †mille coloribus: *Met.* vi, 65; x, 261; xi, 589; *Rem. Am.* 353; Verg. *Aen.* iv, 701; v, 89; 609.

10 \*picta pharetra: *Her.* 21, 173; *Met.* ii, 421; iv, 306. \*stabit (-at) Amor: *Pont.* iii, 3, 13. Amor pharetra: cf. *Trist.* v, 1, 22 (*pharetrati* . . . *Amoris*), *Rem. Am.* 379, also *Am.* ii, 5, 1 (*pharetrate Cupido*), and often. *in morem*: 2 Verg., 2 Hor.; for metrical reasons Ov. later uses *de more* (9 times) and *e more* (3 times), but cf. *inque modum*, *Trist.* i, 11, 20.

11 \*adsis o Cytherea: *Met.* x, 640 (*Cytherea* . . . *adsit*).

12 *Surrentinus*: 1 Ov., 1 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.). On Ov. as a color poet, see Thomason, *op. cit.* 334 ff.; cf. Price, *A. J. P.* iv, 4: "In one exquisite poem of the *Catalecta*, vi, 10, there stands like a delicate vision of antique beauty the statue of Amor carved in white marble with wings of many colored feathers." The reference to a statue or to a picture of Cupid is not Vergilian, but Ovidian; cf. *Met.* x, 516 (description of infant Adonis): *qualia | corpora nudorum tabula pinguntur Amorum, | talis erat, sed, ne faciat discrimina cultus, | aut huic adde levis, aut illi deme pharetras*; see also Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* ii<sup>2</sup>, 269, 309, and Wunderer, *Ovid's Werke in Verhältnis z. Kunst* (Erlangen, 1889), pp. 26 f.

#### XIV \*

This piece is given by Vollmer only in his textual notes (p. 142); it is numbered xiv a by Ellis and xv by Birt. As the concluding epigram of the *Catalepton* it has naturally been much discussed. It expressly asserts Vergilian authorship for the collection of verse to which it is appended, and the usual view of critics has always been that it was itself composed by the editor of the collection; only Vollmer (*Sitzb. bayer. Akad.* 1907, p. 345, n. 2; *P. L. M.* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 142) and Sommer

<sup>7</sup> The figures indicate the frequency of usage in the two poets in proportion to the length of their works.

(*Catalepton*, pp. 12 ff.) have dissented from this view and maintained the opinion that it is an addition made by a late grammarian of the third or fourth century. On the other hand, Lucian Müller (*Praef. Priap.* XLIV) has correctly seen that the editor who appended this epilogue to the *Catalepton* is the same who has also provided a formal preface for the great *Priapea* (*Priap.* I: *Carminis incompti lusus*, etc.). There has been much difference of opinion too as to whether our epigram refers to the poems of the *Catalepton* alone or to the whole Appendix. Naeke, Leo, and Birt have contended for the first view; Ribbeck, Baehrens, Sonntag, Sommer, and Rand have supported the second, while Lucian Müller and Vollmer have remained in doubt between the two contentions. My own view at present is that the question is one of little practical importance, though Birt (*Catalepton*, pp. 6 f., 173 ff.) is doubtless right in holding that the epigram belonged only to the separate *Catalepton* roll. Yet the editor seems purposely to have placed the *Culex* at the head of the collection with an express ascription to Vergil (*P. Vergilii iuvenalis ludi libellus*; cf. Vollmer, *P. L. M.* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 13), and also purposely to have given an assignment near the close to the *Catalepton*, which contains several short poems written in Vergil's name and concludes with an epigram asserting Vergil's authorship. Under these circumstances he knew well that the reader would be likely to associate the final epigram with the whole Appendix. Note further that our author expressly states: "These first efforts *also* (*quoque*) belong to the divine poet"; therefore he clearly implies that there are other "first productions," such as the *Culex*, *Aetna*, etc., since a reference to the *Eclogues* seems wholly unlikely here. Thus we have an example of the same skilful editing which we find in the Tibullan Corpus, and while Ovid doubtless did not seek to deceive his own literary circle, he was quite willing, in an uncritical age, to perpetrate a hoax upon the general public.

The epigram itself, though brief, is written with much elegance and shows a knowledge of Theocritus' marked pre-



dilection for the word 'sweet' (Gell. *N. A.* ix, 9; Mackail, *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, p. 231). The language is strikingly Ovidian, as may be seen especially from *non minor, elementum, rudis, Calliope*, etc.

1 *Syracosius*: 3 Ov., 1 Verg. *vate Syracosio*: cf. *Ib.* 549, *Syracosio poetae dulcior*: 5 Ov., 1 Verg., 5 App. Verg., 1 App. Tibull., 1 Prop. *Hesiodus*: 0 Ov., 0 Verg. (*Ascraeus* is used instead).

2 \* *Homereo* . . . *ore fuit*: cf. *Rem. Am.* 382, *Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui*; Ov. is fond of phrases like *blandi Propertius oris* (*Trist.* v, i, 17; *Pont.* iv, 18, 5; *Am.* i, 15, 19), which Vergil never uses. *Homerēus* (Greek form): 0 Ov. and cited only here, but cf. *Cul.* 14, *Chimaerēus* (only here), *ib.* 29, *Centaureus*; Linse, *De Ovidio vocab. inventore*, p. 22, gives 21 adjs. in *-ēus* formed from Greek proper names, which occur first in Ov.; 8 of these, such as *Erebēus, Perillēus, Thyestēus*, etc., do not occur elsewhere. *non minor*: *Cat.* xiv\*, 2 (in same position in verse); 5 Ov. (*Her.* 19, 86; *Met.* viii, 739; *Trist.* v, 2, 50; *Pont.* iii, 1, 94; iv, 12, 22); 1 *Lyd.* (75); 3 Prop., 1 Catull.; cf. *non minus* (adv.) 2 Hor. *Nec minor*, which is here avoided, is used instead 6 times by Verg. at the beginning of a new clause (*Geor.* iii, 240; 306, etc.); Verg. has also *haut minus* 3 times, *nec minus* 13 times.

3 *elementum*: 6 Ov., 3 Hor., 24 Lucr. (0 Verg., etc.). The view of Sommer, *Catalepton*, 16, that the meaning 'first essays,' 'first attempts,' is post-Augustan, is wholly erroneous; for this use occurs 4 times in Ov., and Birt (p. 173) rightly emphasizes *Fast.* iii, 709, *prima elementa Caesaris*; cf. *ib.* 179. *divini poetae*: drawn from Verg. *Ecl.* 5, 45; 10, 117.

4 *rudis Calliope*: cf. *rude carmen*, *Trist.* i, 7, 22; 39; *Hor. Sat.* i, 10, 65. *rudis*: 44 Ov., 2 Verg. (9 : 1), 2 App. Verg., 1 *Aetna*. \**Calliope*: here used *per synecdochen*, 'poetry' (of any kind); this use is cited only from Ov. *Trist.* ii, 568, *quem mea Calliope laeserit, unus ero*. \**vario carmine*, 'in manifold song,' 'in varied strain,' found only in *Aetna*, 580, *variis carminibus*; cf. *varios modos*, *Met.* x, 146; *Trist.* ii, 432; Prop. ii, 22, 6.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether the fourth and eleventh poems are Vergilian impersonations or whether, like the *Ciris* and *Cat.* ix, they are written by Ovid *in propria persona*. The fourth piece, which is composed in imitation of Catullus, possesses all the sincerity and the charm which we usually associate with that poet. The writer, with many protestations of ardent friendship, bids farewell, on the occasion of some extended journey, to his friend Musa, and expresses unbounded admiration for Musa's poetical gifts. The eleventh piece, which is less successful, laments the premature death of Octavius—also a man of letters—

and defends him somewhat coldly and heartlessly against the charge of excessive drinking. Those who see in the poems an attempt at Vergilian biography find them both concerned with Octavius Musa, the governor of Mantua, and probably the friend of Horace (mentioned in *Sat.* I, 10, 82). If, however, Ovid is writing here in his own person, we must recognize in the youth addressed, as Haupt did, either the younger Octavius Musa or some other person of the same name. It is noteworthy also that *Cat.* XI is based upon an epigram of Callimachus, the favorite author of Propertius and Ovid, and the jesting tone of the first four verses is wholly alien to the sympathy and tenderness of heart with which Vergil has treated the deaths of his youthful heroes, Nisus and Euryalus, Lausus, Pallas, and even Turnus. When furthermore we turn to the first poem, which is so natural and spontaneous an expression of friendship, we find that its style has the same light, playful, and fanciful characteristics which led Ribbeck<sup>8</sup> rightly to identify the author of *Cat.* XI with Lygdamus (the youthful Ovid), and which appear also in so many of the word-plays and quibbles of the *Ciris* and the *Lydia* (e.g., *Lyd.* 26, *tauro* Iove digna vel *auro*). Thus the playful form of repetition, "X and the sisters of X," which occurs three times in Ovid but in no other poet of the Golden Age, meets us in verse 5; somewhat similarly we have in verse 7 "Phoebus and the choir of Phoebus."

Above all, however, we find in verses 10 f. the distinctive Ovidian witticism or conceit: "Do not love me—I do not presume to ask that—but permit me to love you (only permit yourself to be loved by me)!" This occurs in none of our poets.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *App. Verg.*, p. 12. Ribbeck rightly pointed out that very many "conceits" (*deliciae*) and playful repetitions, such as conduplicatio, anaphora, and epanastrophe, are common to *Cat.* IX and to Lygdamus (e.g., *Cat.* IX, 13 f., *pauca tua in nostras venerunt carmina chartas*, | *carmina cum lingua*, etc.; cf. *Lyg.* 5, 1 f.).

<sup>9</sup> This special quip is not common in literature, but some modern phrases may be compared: "True love consists in loving and not in being loved," "It is better to love than to be loved, etc." Ovid's jest is quite different from



In addition we find in only twenty verses at least nine distinctive Ovidian phrases. The vocabulary is also non-Vergilian, as shown particularly by *Clio*, *cyathus*, *scriptum*, *historia* (cf. also *iucundus*, *merum*, *immeritus*). Sommer, *Catalepton*, pp. 101 ff., points out that the two pieces contain at least six imitations of Catullus and probably one of Horace: *dispeream nisi* (Catull. 92, 2); *quis uno* (107, 7); *quare illud satis est* (68, 147); *non contra ut* (76, 23); *quis deus* (61, 46); *fata sequuntur* (64, 326); *ire quocumque ferent* (Hor. *Epod.* 16, 21);<sup>10</sup> add also *Phoebi chorus* (Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 66); *quae fuit invidia* (cf. *Aen.* IV, 350); *Romanae historiae* (Prop. III, 4, 10). A single word, *dispereo* (2 Cat., 1 Prop., 1 Hor.), occurs neither in Vergil nor in Ovid.

## IV

1 *\*tempora vitae*: *Paneg.* 112<sup>a</sup> (edd., by certain conj.); *Pont.* III, 2, 29; II, 5, 74; I, 9, 12; *Trist.* v, 10, 12; IV, 9, 5; *Met.* XIV, 732.

2 *\*tangere terras* (with alliteration): *Met.* VIII, 756 ('touch the earth'); cf. VIII, 154 (*contigit terram*).

3 *dispeream si*: the later Ov. uses *peream si* 5 times: *Her.* 17, 183; 21, 29; *Pont.* III, 5, 45; IV, 12, 43; cf. *Priap.* 29, 1. †(si) *te . . . mihi carior alter*: *Trist.* III, 6, 3, also *Pont.* IV, 4, 17, *non tibi carior alter*; Verg. *Aen.* XII, 639, *non mihi carior alter*; Prop. II, 9, 2, *carior alter*; for still other examples of *non alter* and comp. adj., v. Ehrenguber, *op. cit.* III, 46. *dulcior*: see on XIV\*, 1.

5 *\*divi divomque sorores*: cf. *A. A.* I, 27, *Clio Cliusque sorores*; *Her.* 19, 163, *Phrixo Phrixique sorore*; *Fast.* v, 699, *Phoeben Phoebesque sororem*; cf. also *Am.* II, 11, 36, *Nereidesque deae Nereidumque pater*. Note also *Cat.* IX, 21, *omnes divi, . . . divae*; *Priap.* 78, 1 (iambic), *di deaeque*. *ante alios*: 4 App. Verg., 3 App. Tibull., often both in Ov. and Verg., see my note in *A. J. P.* XLIV (1923), 248, and Ehrenguber, *op. cit.* IX, 27; 24.

6 *\*dedere bona*: *ad Liv.* 82. *neque indigno*: cf. *A. A.* I, 681, *non indigna*; *Cat.* IX, 39, *multa neque immeritis* (dactylic adj.); *Pont.* IV, 9, 134, *nec tu immerito* (Prop. also has *non immerito* 3 times).

7 *Phoebi chorus ipseque Phoebus*: for the playful repetition so common in Ov. cf. *Priap.* 37, 6, *Phoebo filioque Phoebi*; *Am.* II, 18, 24, *Hippolytique parens Hippolytusque*; *Her.* 8, 117, *genus generisque parentem*; *Am.* III, 15, 15, *culte puer puerique parens culti*; *Her.* 8, 47; 19, 163; *Ib.* 132.

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the conception in Poe's "Annabel Lee": "And this maiden she lived with no other thought | Than to love and be loved by me"; quite different too from Catullus' Acme and Septimius (45, 20): *mutuis animis amant amantur*.

<sup>10</sup> Except in the *Rosetum* Ovid rarely imitates Horace, and it is therefore possible that both poets drew the superfluous *ire* as infinitive of purpose from the comedians, e.g., Plaut. *Rud.* 847, *profectus es ire*; cf. also *Cir.* 183, *quo vocat ire dolor*.

**8** *o quis* (bis): also *Cul.* 304, *Cat.* XIII, 8 (*o quid*). This is drawn from Catull. 31, 7, *o quid* (cf. 9, 10, *o quantum*), and is not in Verg., Tib., Prop.; different are *Aen.* I, 372 (*o . . . quam te memorem, virgo*) and *Ecl.* 3, 72. *doctior*: 3 Ov., 1 *Lyd.* (25), 2 Hor., 1 Catull., (0 Verg., etc.).

**9** *iucundus*: 12 Ov., 1 Verg. (5:1), 5 App. Verg., 1 *Aetna*, 3 App. Tibull. (cf. Thomason, *op. cit.* 258).

**10** †*Clio*: 4 Ov., 1 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.). *nam certe*: *Met.* XII, 108, etc.; 0 Verg.; *Lyd.* 70.

**11** \*(*si*) *te permittis amari*: cf. *Am.* I, 3, 3 a, *nimum volui! tantum patiat amari*; III, 2, 57, *daque novae mentem dominae, patiat amari*; *Her.* 15, 96, *non ut ames oro, verum ut amare sinas*; cf. *Her.* 19, 4, *non patienter amo*, 'I do not love with only a passive love.' *quare*: this is the conclusive *quare*, 'therefore,' as distinguished from the interrogative meaning 'why,' and is drawn from Catull. 68, 147. The figures for conclusive *quare* are: 5 Verg., 4 App. Verg., 1 App. Tibull., 6 Prop., 1 Hor., 18 Catull., 31 Lucr. The later Ov. has conclusive *quare* only once (*Pont.* III, 1, 65, where Ehwald reads *quarum*), since it belongs to the first foot in which he avoids a spondee; see Ehrenguber, *op. cit.* v, 58. Note also *Her.* 7, 33 f.: *aut ego, quem coepi, neque enim dedignor amare | materiam curae praebeat ille meae*, where Shuckburgh well renders: 'Or at any rate, let him whom I have begun to love, afford a subject for my passion', i.e., let him allow me to go on loving him though he does not love me.

**12** †*unde mihi*: cf. *Her.* 12, 84, *sed mihi tam faciles unde deos*; 21, 237, *unde tibi favor hic*; 7, 22; Prop. II, 7, 13. *amor mutuos*: 0 Ov., 0 Verg.; [Tib.] IV, 5, 7; 2 Tib., 2 Hor. The later Ov. prefers *mutua cura* (4 times—also *Lygd.* I, 19): *mutuos*, 13 Ov., 3 Verg. (2:1).

## XI

**2** \**nimio . . . mero*: *Trist.* II, 446; III, 5, 48; *A. A.* I, 600; cf. *Pont.* I, 5, 45 (*nimio vino*). Hor. *Carm.* II, 12, 5, has *nimum mero*; cf. *Met.* XIV, 252. The usual Latin is *multo mero* (2 Prop., 1 Hor.). *Merum*: 56 Ov., 3 Verg. (7½:1), 3 App. Verg., 5 App. Tibull. *nimius*, adj.: 15 Ov., 2 Verg. (2½:1), 2 App. Verg. *a nimius* (*nimis*): 3 Ov., 1 Verg., 2 Prop., 0 Hor., 1 Catull.

**3** \**si est culpa*: cf. *Met.* XIII, 300, *si . . . pro culpa est*. Cf. *Trist.* IV, 1, 62, *huc sunt fata secuta*.

**4** †*crimen habent* (*habet*): 7 Ov. (*Am.* II, 5, 6; *A. A.* I, 586; II, 272; 634; III, 454; *Fast.* II, 162; *Trist.* II, 498), 1 Prop. *Crimen habere*, in general: 11 Ov. (also *Rem. Am.* 328; *Fast.* I, 445; *Trist.* II, 265; IV, 4, 21), 1 Tib., 1 Prop. The phrase is perhaps juristic, v. *Canzenmüller, Nux*, p. 63, and my own remarks in *A. J. P.* XLIV, 253, n. 74. *cyathus*: 1 Ov., 2 App. Verg., 1 Prop., 7 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.). Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 30, wrongly omits the asterisk here, though he has it on p. 26 (*Copa*, 7). *immeritus*: 14 Ov., 1 Verg. (6:1), 3 App. Verg., 2 App. Tibull.

**5** \**scripta tua . . . mirabimur*: *Pont.* I, 2, 137. \**scripta tua*: *Pont.* I, 3, 30; cf. *Her.* 6, 4. *scriptum*, subst.: 58 Ov., 6 Prop., 3 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.). This word is omitted by Fairclough, *op. cit.*, 31.

**6** *historia*: *Cul.* 4; 5 Ov., 7 Prop., 3 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.).



7 *nullus eris*, 'you will be no more': *Met.* xi, 579, 684; xii, 447; ix, 735; *Her.* 10, 11; *Fast.* iii, 470; *Prop.* i, 5, 22; *Catull.* 17, 20. This is only a special case of the colloquial use of *nullus* for *non*, which is frequent in *Ov.*, *Catull.* and the *Ciris* (177). *perversus*: 3 *Ov.*, 2 *Verg.*, 1 *Prop.* 1 *Lucr.*, (0 *Hor.*, etc.). *Manes*, voc.: 2 *Ov.* (*Met.* viii, 488; *Fast.* v, 443), 1 *Prop.*; on Ovid's favorite use of apostrophe, see my note in *A. J. P.* xlv, 233, and Ganzenmüller, *Nux*, p. 35.

## I \*

The three pieces i\*, ii\*, iii\* belong to the *Catalepton* roll and, although they deal with Priapus, there is no warrant whatever for removing them from the *Catalepton* and prefixing to them the title of '*Priapea*' (see *T. A. P. A.* lii, 172). The vocabulary of i\* is Ovidian rather than Vergilian, as is shown especially by *frequento*, *spica*, *ligneus*, and *praebeo*. In four verses it contains three Ovidian phrases.

1 *frequento*: 10 *Ov.*, 1 *Verg.* (4:1), 2 *App. Verg.*, 2 *Catull.* (0 *Prop.*, etc.). The meaning is 'I am worshipped, honored (*celebror*) with the rose'; cf. *Priap.* 76, 12, *Cererem* nurus frequentant; *Fast.* iii, 251, *matrem* mea turba frequentat; *Met.* xi, 89. *Verg.* has only *arva frequentant*, 'throng, inhabit' (*Aen.* vi, 478). *Vere* rosa, *autumno* pomis, *aestate* . . . *spicis*, *hiemps* . . . *ignem*: imitated from *Verg. Geor.* iv, 134, *vere* rosam atque *autumno* carpere poma. Similar descriptions of the four seasons are frequent in *Ov.*, as *Trist.* iv, 1, 57, *vere* flores, . . . *poma* per autumnum; *Rem. Am.* 189, *poma* autumnus, . . . *igne* . . . *hiemps*; *Met.* i, 27, *ver.* . . . *florente* corona, *aestas* *spicea* *serta*. *rosā*: the editors have much to say of the elision of an iambic word, but even at a much later date *Ov.* has three times admitted this license in his elegies (*Am.* ii, 19, 20, *timē*; *Her.* 17, 97, *meo*; *ad Liv.* 375, *deae*).

2 *spica*: 4 *Ov.*, 3 *App. Verg.*, 1 *App. Tibull.* (ii, 5, 84), 3 *Tib.*, 1 *Prop.* (0 *Verg.*, etc.). *spiceus*; 4 *Ov.*, 1 *Verg.* \**horrida* . . . *hiemps*: *Met.* xv, 212; *Pont.* iv, 10, 38. *Verg.* has *horrida* cano Bruma gelu (*Geor.* iii, 442).

3 \**frigus metuo*: *Am.* i, 15, 37. *ligneus ignem*: as Rand well observes (*Harv. Stud.* xxx, 130), there is a play here on Lucretius' remarks on the similarity of *lignum* and *ignis* (*Lucr.* i, 912 ff.), and "winter brings on a chilling fear that some lazy rustic may turn the ligneous god into igneous fuel." On Ovid's fondness for the jingle or parechesis, see *A. J. P.* xlv, 284, and Ganzenmüller, *Nux*, p. 35. *ligneus*: 1 *Ov.*, 0 *Verg.*, 4 *Priap.*, 1 *App. Tibull.* (ii, 5, 28), 1 *Catull.*

4 \**ignem praebeat*: *Ib.* 213; cf. *Fast.* i, 411, and *Lucr.* iv, 869, *incendia praebeant*. *praebeo* (prosaic): 108 *Ov.*, 4 *Verg.* (11:1), 2 *App. Verg.*, 1 *Aetna.*

## VIII

This poem is composed with great skill, and seeks to satisfy the eager longing of the public for some information at first

hand relating to the personal life of Rome's greatest poet. Horace and Ovid constantly reveal themselves in their works, but Vergil, as has well been said, "hides himself from his readers" (Garrod), and such is his habitual reserve that even in the *Eclogues* he imparts to us very little exact knowledge of his own affairs. Heart-felt gratitude, it is true, is expressed to Augustus and to his noble patrons, Pollio, Varus, Gallus, and Maecenas, but the poet of filial piety has nowhere commemorated his own parents, and the man of sincere, loyal, and generous nature (Hor. *Sat.* i, 5, 40) has made but a single reference in all his works (*Ecl.* 9, 35) to his own intimate friends. The present poem attempts therefore to supply this deficiency by express mention of the revered father (vs. 5) and by an implied reference to the mother and three brothers (vs. 3, *quos semper amavi*). Nor is Siron (vs. 1), the honored teacher, forgotten, just as Ovid has himself fittingly commemorated his own learned preceptors<sup>11</sup> and Dante has done homage to Brunetto Latini (*Inf.* xv). Attractive, however, as the piece has always been to modern scholars, Cartault (*Étude sur les Bucol. de Virg.*, p. 15) has correctly perceived its character as a playful forgery. Thus he points out that when, after the confiscation of lands near Cremona, Vergil came to Rome to live at Siron's house, his father and his two elder brothers, Silo and Flaccus, were in all probability already dead; only the poet's mother, Magia Polla, and Valerius Proculus, her son by a second marriage, survived (cf. also Plessis, *Poésie lat.*, p. 279). The diction is Ovidian, as is shown below (note *semper amare* and *divitiae*). Verse 5 reveals imitation of Catull. 15, 1, *commendo tibi me ac meos amores*; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* ii, 747, *Anchisenque patrem . . . commendo sociis*.

1 †*pauper agelle*; *Fast.* v, 515 (*pauperis agri*): Tib. i, 1, 19; cf. Hor. *Sat.* i, 6, 71 (*macro pauper agello*). *agellus*: 1 Ov., 1 Verg., 2 *Priap.*, 7 Hor., 1 *Lucr. villula*: 0 Ov., 0 Verg., 3 App. Verg., 1 Catull.; on the use of apostrophe, see on xi, 7 (p. 182), and on the similar use of diminutives in the *Ciris*, v. Thomason, *op. cit.*, 344.

<sup>11</sup>*Trist.* iv, 10, 16, *imus ad insignes urbis ab arte viros*. Porcius Latro and Arellius Fuscus are especially meant.



2 \**illi domino tu quoque divitiae*, 'you who were all his wealth': cf. *Aetna*, 631, *illis divitiae solae materque paterque* (in same sense); *Met.* xv, 425, *pro divitiis tumulos avorum*; *divitiae*: 13 Ov., 1 Verg. (5:1), 2 *Aetna*.

3 quos *semper amavi*: *Dir.* 102 (*semper amabo*); *Maec.* 163 (*semper amare*); 11 Ov. (v. A. J. P. XLIV, 239), 2 App. Tibull., 4 Prop., 1 Hor. (*Carm.* i, 5, 10, *semper amabilem*), 1 Catull. (65, 9, *semper amabo*; cf. LXVI, 88). Verg., who is no love poet, never uses either *semper amare* or *semper amor*—even when separated. *una mecum*: cf. *una cum*, *Met.* vi, 714; xi, 684; *mecum una*, Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 31.

5 *in primis*: prob. 0 Ov., 4 Verg., 0 Catull., 14 Lucr.

6 *quod fuerat*: cf. *Am.* ii, 6, 15, *quod fuit* . . . Phoeus Orestae, hoc tibi . . . turtur erat; also *Met.* ii, 263. *Cremona*: 0 Ov., 1 Verg.

The pieces VII and I are also cleverly composed. In all probability, if Vergil had actually written poems addressed to Varius and Tucca, his close friends and the executors of his will, he would have chosen some serious subject for his verse. But the scandalous interpretation which, according to Donatus (Suetonius), many of the ancients put upon the love of Corydon for Alexis, which is the theme of the second Eclogue, shows well the prevalent temper of the imperial age, and Ovid correctly reasoned that if he should delineate Vergil as proficient in the amatory style and represent him in one poem as confessing his infatuation for a beautiful boy, and in another as pursuing a love affair with a married lady, he would interest and please the Roman public of his day. It is not surprising then that the chief erotic poet of antiquity should compose these light and playful pieces in Vergil's name, but it would be surprising indeed if the stately author of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* had had no other subject for verses addressed to his intimate friends than love intrigues of a very dubious character. The language is Ovidian, as shown particularly by *sine fraude*, *pothos*, *tangere*, *occulo*, *quid prodest* (cf. *longe est*).

## VII

1 *sine fraude*: 4 Ov. (*Am.* iii, 3, 43; *Met.* ii, 15, 558; *Fast.* vi, 173), 1 *Priap.* (6, 4), 1 Prop., 2 Hor. (0 Verg., etc.); the later Ov. places *sine* in the fourth foot, *dulcissimus*: 0 Ov., 0 Verg., 1 App. Tibull. (iv, 5, 7), 1 Hor., 0 Catull. This is the beginning of Ovid's use of the superlative in the fifth foot of the hexameter (see Eschenburg, *Wie hat Ov. einz. Wörter verwandt*, p. 16). The later Ov. prefers *gratissimus* (14 times) and *carissimus* (15 times).

**2** *pothos*: on the free use of Greek words and forms in the App. Verg., in the *Panegyric*, and in Ov., v. Thomason, *op. cit.* 336 f., Ehrengrubner, *op. cit.* II, 1 ff., and May, *De stilo epyll. Rom.*, p. 57; cf. also *Cat.* II, 4, tau, min et sphin. This use is wholly foreign to Verg., and the *praecepta* of the rhetoric-class (vs. 3) would scarcely have been necessary in his case. *perdidit*: both *perdo* and *disperdo* in the erotic sense are vastly common in Ov., as *Am.* II, 10, 21, me mea disperdat puella.

**3** *sin autem*: 1 Verg. (*Geor.* IV, 67), 1 *Cir.* (276). *sane*: drawn from Catull. (10, 4; 43, 4); 0 Ov., 1 Verg. *iste puer*: *Her.* 21, 125; often *ille puer*, as *Rem. Am.* 168 (bis).

## I

**4** *\*tangere quod nequeas*: *A. A.* II, 633, corpora si *nequeunt*, quae possunt nomina *tangunt*; *Met.* III, 478, liceat, quod *tangere* non est, adspicere; cf. *Her.* 20, 147, quam *tangis*, nostra futura est; 18, 179; *A. A.* I, 92; II, 692; *Met.* II, 189; *Aetna*, 193; cf. *Lucr.* v, 152, *tangere enim non quit*. The phrases may be partly due to the Roman legal distinction between corporeal and incorporeal things (*res quae tangi possunt*, etc.). *longe est*: this adjectival use of *longe* with *esse* occurs only once or twice in Verg. (*Aen.* x, 52; cf. v, 23), but is frequent in Ov. (*Her.* 12, 52; 13, 16; *Met.* x, 664; xi, 479; 794; *Trist.* III, 4, 53; *Pont.* IV, 9, 93, etc.). *occulo* (omitting *occultus*): 14 Ov., 3 Verg. (2 : 1), 1 *Priap.* (9, 5), 2 Tib.

**6** *quid prodest* (*prosunt*; usually divided): 12 Ov. (*Her.* 18, 173; 21, 133; *Met.* II, 589; XIII, 935; *Pont.* II, 6, 11; III, 3, 57, etc.), 1 Verg., 1 *Cir.* (190), 5 Tib., 3 Prop., 0 Catull.

## III

This piece, which is well suited to a pupil of the rhetorical schools, commemorates some mighty ruler, who had conquered the nations of Asia, and was able to threaten Rome itself. It is variously explained as referring to Phraates, to Mithridates, or to Alexander. As both P. Jahn (*Rh. Mus.* LXIII (1908), 100) and Sommer (*Catalepton*, p. 104) have pointed out, it exhibits many striking parallels to the *Ciris*.

**1** *subnixus*: 1 Ov. (*Met.* VI, 715; omitted by Burman), 2 Verg., 2 *Cir.* †*altius extulerat*: *Met.* XII, 248, *elatum alte*; Verg. *Geor.* III, 553, *altius effert*; *Aen.* v, 443.

**2** *\*caeli sedibus*: in our poets found only here and in *Cir.* 175; cf. also *Met.* IV, 446 and *Pont.* III, 5, 53 (*caelesti sede*).

**3** *\*concusserat orbem*: *Met.* II, 849. *magnus orbis*: *Met.* I, 35; *Trist.* v, 2, 31, etc.; Verg. *Geor.* II, 339; *Aen.* I, 602, etc. *Asiae . . . populos*: cf. Verg. *Aen.* II, 556.

**5** *grave servitium*: *Cir.* 291; Prop. I, 5, 19. *cuspidē conciderant*: cf. *Am.* III, 2, 15 (*concidit hasta*).

**7** *cum subito*: *Met.* IV, 391, etc.; Verg. *Aen.* I, 509, 535, etc.; *Dir.* 57; *Aetna*, 220.



8 \*cum . . . corruit: *Met.* XIII, 601. *corruo*: 5 *Ov.*, 1 *Verg.* (2 : 1). *patria pulsus*: *Pont.* I, 3, 71; *Verg. Aen.* VIII, 333.

9 *tale deae numen*: cf. *Met.* XI, 134, *mite deum numen*; *Cir.* 35, *tale deae velum*; see further examples in Thomason, *op. cit.* 254. *nutus*: 12 *Ov.*, 3 *Verg.* (1½ : 1).

10 \*momentum: 6 *Ov.*, 1 *Roset.* (21), 3 *Hor.* (0 *Verg.*, etc.). *fallax*: 30 *Ov.*, 6 *Verg.* (2:1), 2 *App. Verg.*, 5 *App. Tibull.*

The author plans to complete the present work and to publish at an early date—probably in coöperation with other scholars—an examination of the remaining poems of the *Catalepton*, provided that his forthcoming publications upon the *Maecenas* and the *Priapea*—two works which attain almost the perfection of the metrical art—as well as upon the Ovidian coinages and suffixes found in the two Appendices shall seem to leave any need for further study of these minor poems.

XII.—*A Waxed Tablet of the Year 128 A.D.*

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[Plates I-IV]

The waxed tablet which forms the subject of this paper was brought from Egypt to London in 1922. It had only recently been discovered, probably in the Fayoum, but neither the date nor the place of discovery has been revealed. It contains a complete Latin document, of which only imperfect examples were previously known. The document is a certified copy of a public record attesting the birth of a baby girl, Herennia Gemella, on March 11 of the year 128 A.D.

On account of the freshness of its appearance and the perfect preservation of the waxed surfaces containing the writing, as well as of the wood, the genuineness of the tablet was at first doubted. In order to determine whether the content was consistent with the ascription of age required by the names of the Roman consuls at the beginning of the text, Mr. H. I. Bell, of the British Museum, made a complete transcription, and also submitted the tablet to Dr. Alexander Scott, Director of Scientific Research at the British Museum, who examined both wood and wax with a microscope and analyzed a specimen of the wax. The last vestige of doubt was thus removed, and the tablet, with Mr. Bell's transcription, was brought to the University of Michigan in January, 1923. It is numbered 766 in the Michigan Collection of Papyri.

The tablet is a diptych. The two leaves are six and eleven-sixteenths inches high, five and five-sixteenths inches wide; each is one-eighth of an inch thick. The leaves match almost perfectly, yet not in such a way as to indicate that they might have been sawed apart from the same piece of wood after this had been cut to the requisite size and thickness.



The two inner surfaces of the leaves are slightly sunk, leaving a raised rim eleven-sixteenths of an inch wide about the edge, like the rim of a slate. The sunken surfaces thus formed were coated with black wax. The writing on the wax begins at the edge of the first leaf (Plate I) and runs parallel with the side of the tablet. It fills this first page, is continued on the waxed surface opposite, and fills about two-thirds of the second page (Plate II).

The two outer surfaces of the tablet were left smooth, and on them was written, with a reed pen and black ink, a complete copy of the writing on the wax of the inside. The writing runs across the tablet, but is preceded by the names of seven witnesses, in the genitive case (Plate III). The names were written at the right of the seals, which were impressed in wax dropped when hot upon the binding cord. This cord passed around the middle of the tablet and thus the signatures run parallel with the sides. They filled the half of the tablet above the row of seals. The copy of the document is continued on the second outside page, which it fills (Plate IV).

In all the four plates the three holes at the back, through which was passed the cord that fastened the tablets together, are plainly seen; also the hole at the front through which the cord was passed when the two leaves were finally tied up to be sealed. In Plate III the discoloration from the wax of the seals shows where the cord ran, across the middle.

If the diptych retained its cord to the time of discovery, it is surprising that no traces remain; for cords in Egypt are preserved as well as wood. Perhaps the diptych was opened in antiquity, perhaps by the finders; but in any case the leaves fortunately remained so close together that the wax, which has become hard with time, was not damaged by contact with the sand.

The transcription of the text given below reproduces the writing of the two inside pages. Then follow the signatures, from the upper half of the first outside page, and the name of

Herennia Gemella added, at the end of the second outside page, in Greek, in the accusative case (Plate IV).

## INTERIOR

## PAG. I

- L Nonio Torquato Asprenate II M Annio  
 Libone Co(n)s(ulibus) Idib(us) April(ibus) anno XII  
 Imp(eratoris)  
 Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) mense  
 Pharmuthi die XVIII Alex(andriae) ad Aeg(yptum)  
 5 descriptum et recognitum ex tabula pro-  
 fessionum quibus liberi nati sunt  
 quae tabula proposita erat in foro Aug(usti)  
 in qua scriptum fuid id quod infrascri-  
 ptum est M Claudio Squilla Gallicano  
 10 T Atilio Rufo Titiano Co(n)s(ulibus) anno XII Imp(era-  
 toris)  
 Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) T Flavio  
 Titiano praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) profesiones liberorum  
 acceptae citra causarum cognitionem

## PAG. II

- tab(ula) VIII pag(ina) II amplioribus litteris  
 scriptum est L Nonio Torquato Asprenate  
 II M Annio Libone Co(n)s(ulibus) et post alia pag(ina)  
 IX  
 VI Kal(endas) April(es)  
 5 C Herennius Geminianus HSeccl(xxv)  
 fil(iam) n(atam) Herenniam Gemellam  
 ex Diogenide M(arci) fil(ia) Thermu-  
 thario v Idus Mart(ias) q p  
 f c a(r?) e ad k



## EXTERIOR

## PAG. I

M Iuli Capitolini  
 L Petroni Celeris  
 C Iuli Blandiani  
 M Antisti Longi  
 C Semproni Valentis  
 T Flavi Macrini  
 M Antoni Clementis

## PAG. II

## EPENNIAN FEMEAAAN

Since the document is of a formal type and not without difficulties of interpretation an English version may not seem out of place. Following the order of the text as printed the translation runs:

When Lucius Nonius Torquatus Asprenas was consul for the second time, with Marcus Annius Libo as colleague [A.D. 128], on April 13th, in the twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, on the 18th day of the month Pharmuthi, at Alexandria on the coast of Egypt, a copy was made and verified from a record of declarations of births of children, which record had been posted in the Forum of Augustus; wherein is written that which is written hereinunder:

"In the consulship of Marcus Claudius Squilla Gallicanus and Titus Atilius Rufus Titianus" [A.D. 127], "in the twelfth year of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, when Titus Flavius Titianus was Prefect of Egypt, acknowledgments of the births of children were received for record without judicial cognizance;

"Wherein there was written on tablet 8, page 2, in larger letters, when Lucius Nonius Torquatus Asprenas was consul for the second time with Marcus Annius Libo, and after other entries on page 9, under the date of March 27th:

'Gaius Herennius Geminianus, whose census rating is 375 [thousand] sesterces, [declared] that a daughter, Herennia Gemella, was born to him on March 11th, the mother being Diogenis Thermutharion, daughter of Marcus.'

The abbreviation at the end has not yet yielded a sure meaning although it has been submitted to several papyrologists. The first three letters suggest *q(uae) p(roximae) f(uerunt)* proposed by A. S. Hunt in *Pap. Oxyr.* VIII, No. 1114, l. 13, but that does not fit our tablet. After *ad* neither *Kalendas* nor the name of a place seems appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek *ερευνιαν γεμελλαν* at the end of the copy on the outside of the diptych is apparently a memorandum added for convenience of reference by some one who was more familiar with Greek than with Latin, perhaps by a filing clerk or secretary.

A discussion of all the points of interest presented by the tablet would far transcend the limits of this paper and must be reserved for fuller publication later.<sup>2</sup> Declarations of the birth of children are found in Egyptian papyri, but previous to 1906 no such declaration made by a Roman citizen was known. In that year Seymour de Ricci published in the *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* (XXX, 483-486) a waxed diptych in the Museum in Cairo dated in the year 148 A.D. and containing a copy of a record of the birth of a daughter named Julia Ammonus; the name of the father was given as Tiberius Julius Dioscurides, that of the mother as Julia Ammonarion. The place of record was Alexandria, not, however, in the Forum of Augustus, as in our tablet, but in the Great Atrium, *atrio magno*, whatever that was. De Ricci's text was accompanied by a juristic commentary by P. F. Giraud (*ib.* 494-498).

Though both the inner writing on wax and the outer copy on wood are preserved in the Cairo diptych it is illegible in places, and the meaning even with emendation has been doubtful. On account of its importance, however, it was published in the seventh edition of the *Fontes juris Romani*

<sup>1</sup> Just as this volume is being made ready to go to press my colleague, Henry A. Sanders, who kindly read the proofs on account of my absence, offers this suggestion: *q(uae) p(ro) f(ilia) c(arissima) a(ccepta) e(st) ad K(alendas)*.

<sup>2</sup> In a volume of the Humanistic Series of the *University of Michigan Studies*.



*antiqui* by C. G. Bruns, in 1909 (p. 420); by Mitteis and Wilcken in their *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, no. 212; and finally by Paul M. Meyer in his *Juristische Papyri . . . Einführung in die juristische Papyruskunde*, which was published in 1920 (pp. 8-9).

A similar tablet, which has not yet been published, is in Berlin, and I am indebted to Professor Schubart for a transcription of it. It dates from the year 144 A.D., and belongs in a class with the Cairo diptych; for it is a copy of a record of a birth recorded in the Great Atrium in Alexandria. It is less carefully written than our tablet; for example, the genitive of the name *Hadrianus* is written *Hadrianiani*, with a repetition of the last three letters but without a sign of erasure.

A later and fragmentary but interesting Latin declaration of birth in a papyrus was published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Pap. Oxyr.* VI (1908), pp. 213-215. The record in this case also was made at Alexandria but the exact place is uncertain. The date is 194-196 A.D.

Our diptych not only contains the earliest record of the kind yet discovered, but on account of its completeness and legibility will be of assistance in the reading and interpretation of the others. The reproduction of the tablet in the four facsimile plates makes detailed comment upon the chirography and orthographic peculiarities unnecessary here. The writing on the wax is regular and shows the hand of a practiced scribe. It was done rapidly and with a moderately sharp stylus. The point of the stylus moved easily in the surface of the wax, rarely cutting through to the wood underneath. A comparison of the shapes of the letters with those found in the tablets of Caecilius Jucundus, written in Pompeii before 60 A.D., and those of the Dacian tablets of the second century A.D., shows closer kinship with the latter, as was to be expected; this may readily be seen by comparing the facsimiles with the tables given by Van Hoesen in his *Roman Cursive Writing* (Tables C and D) and by Thompson in the *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Facsimiles 101, 102, 103, 104). The

writing on the outside of the diptych is more like the cursive found on papyri in the same period.

The dates are given with exactness, the first being designated by reference to the Egyptian as well as the Roman calendar. The twelfth Egyptian year of Hadrian began August 29, in 127 A.D. At that time, apparently, a new register of births was opened in some public building in the Forum of Augustus, and in this register probably all births of a certain precinct were recorded till the beginning of the thirteenth year of Hadrian, in August of 128 A.D. Herennia Gemella was born on March 11, 128; the birth was recorded on March 27, within thirty days; and the official copy of the record was made on April 13.

Of special interest is the mention of the consul Torquatus. In the *Fasti* the name of this Torquatus appears without the nomen. So also in the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (vi, 10048, 5; xv, 1433) the name is given as Torquatus Asprenas; an apex over the *e* of Asprenas applied to another person (*C. I. L.* vi, 811) furnishes the clue to the length of the penult. Because there was a Nonius Torquatus who was consul in 94 A.D. (*L. Nonius Torquatus Asprenas*, *C. I. L.* vi, 25527) Mommsen and others have thought that probably the Torquatus of 128 A.D. was also a Nonius; and this nomen is given in parentheses in reference books, such as the *Prosopographia imperii Romani* (ii, p. 414) and Goyau's *Chronologie de l'empire romain* (p. 197). The legal redundancy of our tablet presents the name four times, and in all cases in the same form, *L. Nonius Torquatus Asprenas*. The nomen Nonius as hypothetically supplied is thus found to be correct, and we have the forename, Lucius, equally well established.<sup>3</sup>

From literary sources it was known that from the latter part of the second century of our era the registration of births

<sup>3</sup> The fact might also be mentioned that, as Mr. Bell suggested when he sent his transcription, the nomen Claudius here applied to Squilla is a correction of the form Gavius previously given to this name and is further proof of genuineness—if such were needed; for the form *M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus* cf. *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, ii, p. 113.



formed a part of the administrative routine of the Roman Empire. The regulation covering the matter is definitely ascribed to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who reigned from 161 to 180 A.D., though the year when the law went into effect is not given. The passage referring to the matter, in the life of Marcus Aurelius by Capitolinus, chapter 9, runs as follows:

He, Marcus Aurelius, safeguarded cases involving freedom in the following manner. He was the first to issue an order that every citizen of free birth should within thirty days give a name to a child that had been born and make a declaration before the officials of the treasury of Saturn. Throughout the provinces he established the use of public notaries, before whom the same declarations regarding births should be made as before the officials of the treasury in Rome. The end in view was that, if perchance a person born in a province should have occasion to plead a case involving his freedom, he might from such a record obtain evidence. In fact the Emperor strengthened this entire law dealing with declarations that a person was a freeman.

Confirmatory references to such a declaration of birth, which was technically called *professio liberorum*, are found in the *Digest* and *Code* of Justinian. In the *Tebtunis Papyri*, II (1907), Grenfell and Hunt published a rescript of Gordian, dated in 239 A.D., directing "that failure to register children should not deprive them of their right to legitimacy, and conversely that false insertions in the registers should confer no privileges upon persons who were not entitled to them."

Such declarations, however, had begun to be made, at least in the province of Africa, long before the time of Marcus Aurelius. This is shown by a characteristic passage in the *Apology of Apuleius*, chapter 89. In his defense against the charge that by magic arts he had won the affection of the wealthy widow Pudentilla, many years his senior, and had brought about her marriage with him, he thus addresses the leader of his opponents, Aemilianus, in court:

In regard to the age of Pudentilla, respecting which you lied with so great effrontery, asserting that she was married at the age

of sixty years, I shall make answer briefly; for in so evident a matter there is no need of many words.

Her father, in accordance with the custom followed by other men, made a declaration that a daughter had been born to him. His tablets are in part preserved in the public record office, in part in his house. These tablets are now put before your very face. Hold them up before Aemilianus. Let him examine the cord; let him make himself familiar with the seals that have been stamped over it; let him read the names of the consuls; let him reckon up the years, of which he was allotting sixty to the lady, let him satisfy himself that there are only fifty-five.

Even if we assume the date that seems to be the latest possible for the *Apology*, the year 160 A.D., the official record of the birth of Pudentilla must have been made as early as the year 105 A.D., at any rate in the earlier part of the reign of Trajan. The inference that Marcus Aurelius merely gave the sanction of law to a custom which had long been in vogue in the provinces is confirmed by our tablet, which illustrates every point of the statement of Apuleius.

But what of the little Herennia? That might be very interesting, if we could only know.



XIII.—*Some Aspects of the Literary Art of Apuleius in the Metamorphoses*

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The relation of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* to other versions of the same story was the subject of a great deal of futile and uncritical discussion previous to 1887, at which time Karl Bürger, in a brilliant dissertation (*De Lucio Patrensi*), proved conclusively that the *Metamorphoses* and the Lucianic Λούκιος ἢ Ὀνος were both derived independently from a lost Greek Μεταμορφώσεις which Photius (*Bibl.* 129) ascribes to one Lucius of Patrae.<sup>1</sup> After having thus established the interrelationships between the three versions, Bürger proceeded to reconstruct the lost original, and to determine as well as he could how much of that original had been retained by Apuleius, and what episodes in the *Metamorphoses* had been interpolated by the Roman writer himself.<sup>2</sup> He concluded, in general, that all of the longer digressions from the main story were the interpolations of Apuleius, and that the original version was of a uniformly ironical tenor and dealt only with the immediate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schanz, *Röm. Lit.* III,<sup>3</sup> 106–108, and the bibliography there cited. The real author of the lost version was probably Lucian. For this view, and for a history of the problem in general, see my dissertation, *The Metamorphoses Ascribed to Lucius of Patrae*, New York: Stechert, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> Bürger's study of this problem, though not exhaustive, is by far the best and most complete that we have. Goldbacher's work (*Zeit. f. d. öst. Gymnasien*, XXIII (1872) 323–341; 403–421) is uncritical and contains many errors (see Bürger, *passim*); the *Rostocker Preisschrift* of Jennings (1867) is based upon an incorrect theory of the relationships between the three versions, and for that reason is unreliable; the same is true also of other essays which touch upon the subject only incidentally, such as that of Teuffel in *Rh. Mus.* XIX (1864); C. F. Knaut, *De Luciano libelli qui inscribitur Lucius sive Asinus auctore*, Leipzig, 1868; and H. Menzel, *De Lucio Patrensi*, Meseritz, 1895. The article of S. Hammer in *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium*, 1920, has proved inaccessible to me, but from the brief notice of it in *Phil. Woch.* XLI (1921), 1115, I should infer that it deals in the main with topics of a different sort from those discussed below.

fortunes of the protagonist Lucius. The present study tends to confirm these general conclusions, partly by some new arguments and demonstrations, and partly by implication.<sup>3</sup> My chief purpose, however, is different from that of Bürger: I hope to go further, and by a study of the interpolations and other changes due to Apuleius, to set forth as clearly as possible, and to illustrate, his tendencies and methods in recasting his Greek original. These tendencies will, I trust, throw light on the real nature of Apuleius' literary workmanship. In deducing them I shall confine myself to those interpolations and changes for which Apuleius can be plainly proved responsible. Once deduced, however, they will serve, in otherwise doubtful cases, as helpful criteria for distinguishing what Apuleius has added or changed from what he has simply translated or paraphrased.

Before entering into the detailed comparisons of Apuleius' text with the *Ὅνος*, which this study necessarily involves, something must be said about the principles upon which these comparisons will be based, and which, in some cases, determine their significance. We have already observed that the Latin *Metamorphoses* and the *Ὅνος* are both derived independently from a lost Greek *Μεταμορφώσεις*. Of the two derivatives, the *Ὅνος* is by far the more accurate and reliable representative of the lost original, in so far as it is complete; for it is a plain epitome of the *Μεταμορφώσεις*, copied therefrom, except for omitted passages, practically word for word, and showing no trace of individual tendencies or noteworthy additions of any kind. The evidence for this conclusion, most of which will be found in Bürger, cannot here be given in full; but the

<sup>3</sup> Professor H. W. Prescott (*C. W.* xv [1922], 87) thinks that the argument for this view "rests largely upon the loose organic connection of certain stories with the main narrative," and he asks why we should deny to the Greek author such looseness of structure. By a study of Apuleius' methods, and by other arguments, I hope to make it clear in the following pages that the evidence for Bürger's view is much stronger and more varied than Professor Prescott assumes; and that there are good independent reasons why we should not attribute the organic looseness of the Latin *Metamorphoses* to the Greek original.



following points are especially noteworthy. Photius (*l.c.*) in describing the lost Greek work, says explicitly that the *Ῥονος* resembled it *αὐταῖς τε λέξεσι καὶ συντάξεσι* except for parts that had been left out; and this is verified by the fact that Apuleius, following the same lost original, often agrees quite literally with the phraseology of the *Ῥονος*.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the text of the *Ῥονος* sometimes shows abrupt and illogical transitions due to the epitomizer's copying blindly certain phrases or sentences from the *Μεταμορφώσεις* which were made intelligible and consistent only by passages which he has omitted, and which are retained by Apuleius (see Bürger, pp. 13-15, 23, 35). Again, whenever Apuleius and the author of the *Ῥονος* contradict each other in statements of fact, the latter is almost invariably found to be right, so far as one can judge from the context, whereas I have noted upwards of fifty instances in which Apuleius is plainly wrong, that is, self-contradictory or intrinsically absurd, or distinctly less plausible or less logical than the *Ῥονος*. The epitome does indeed contain a number of abrupt transitions and one or two confused

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ῥονος*, 38 with *Met.* VIII, 30:

τὴν γὰρ θεὸν ἀφελόντες μου  
καὶ χαμαὶ καταθέμενοι· καὶ τὰ  
στρώματά μου πάντα περισπᾶσαντες  
γυμνὸν ἤδη προσδέουσί με δένδρῳ  
μεγάλῳ, εἶτα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκ τῶν  
ἀστραγάλων μάστιγι παλόντες  
ὀλίγον ἐδέησαν ἀποκτεῖναι.

deaque vehiculo meo sublata  
et humi reposita cunctis  
stramentis me renudatum  
ac de quadam quercu destinatum  
flagro illo pecuinis  
ossibus catenato verberantes  
paene ad extremam confecerant  
mortem.

Further examples are *Ῥονος*, 2, ἐγὼ μὲν—πάλιν, and *Met.* I, 22, *responde—cappessiviti*; 13, τὸ δὲ χεῖλος—14, ἀποδώσεις, and III, 25, *sed iam—redibis*; 29, εἰτά μοι—προσετίθει, and VII, 17, *lignorum—medebatur*; 36 ἐπεὶ—λαβοῦσα, and VIII, 25, *Philebo*—26, *perduxisse*; 43, ὁ δεσπότης ἔωθεν—ἀργός, and IX, 32, *matutino—recreabar*; 29-33 and VII, 17-24. In the last instance the verbal correspondence, though frequently interrupted by free translation, is remarkably close throughout. Other passages of this sort are cited by Menzel, *op. cit.* 15. The instances of literal translation of a few phrases such as *sequestro ministroque* for ὑπηρέτην καὶ διάκονον (*Ῥονος* 25; *Met.* VI, 31) or of short sentences together with the Greek idioms are very numerous. The quotations from Lucian and Apuleius throughout this article are from the Teubner texts of Jacobitz and Helm respectively.

passages; but these are due to omission or to hasty bridging of gaps, and never, as in Apuleius, to willful addition or alteration—at least so far as any one has been able to discover.

The accuracy of Apuleius' version may therefore be tested by reference to the *Ῥογος*. When we find a passage in the Latin text that is not contradicted by anything in the *Ῥογος*, nor yet substantiated by it, then that passage may or may not have stood in the original; in such cases we shall have to be guided by other criteria. But anything in the *Metamorphoses* that disagrees with the substance of the *Ῥογος* must ordinarily be regarded as having been added or substituted by Apuleius.

A comparison of the Greek and Latin texts shows very clearly that Apuleius is responsible for many changes. Some of these are so arbitrary, or so futile, that they reveal a distinct tendency on the part of the Roman adaptor to change for the mere sake of being original. Thus the name Fotis (*Met.* II, 16 ff.) is less appropriate than the Greek author's Palaestra, for in both versions this maid plays the part of a wrestler (*sensu obsceno*). By substituting Byrrhena for Abroea, Apuleius shows us that he is not ignorant of Northern Greek names, but Abroea, the 'luxurious,' is more suggestive of the lady's wealth (*Met.* II, 19; *Ῥογος*, 4). Note also Milo instead of Hipparchus (a Thessalian), Demias for Decrianus, Thiasus for Meneclis, and such apparently arbitrary matters as *spatha* (thrice, *Met.* IX, 40–41) for *μάχαιρα* (*Ῥογος*, 44, thrice)—although Apuleius has already used *machaera* in the same passage—, 11 denarii (*Met.* X, 13) as the price of the ass instead of 25 drachmas (*Ῥογος*, 46), the loss of venison (VIII, 31) instead of the loss of wild ass's meat (*Ῥογος*, 39) as the occasion for the cook's plan to slaughter the ass Lucius. When Lucius is put to work in a flour mill for the *second* time, according to both versions, Apuleius tells us that he knew how to grind because he had seen such mills in operation when he was a man (IX, 11); but the Greek author explained this familiarity with mills much more appropriately and wittily as due to sad experience: ἡπιστάμην ὅπως χρηὲν ἀλεῖν πολλάκις παθῶν (42).



Here, as often, Apuleius seems to show a positive reluctance to copy the Greek author's humorous conceits. He prefers to offer something of his own, however awkward or uninspired it may be. In spite of his fondness for *facetiae*, many of the best witticisms of the Greek original have been omitted altogether in the *Metamorphoses*, and no doubt deliberately, while others have been replaced by something original, or remodelled without being improved. The reason why Lucius wishes to be changed into a bird, according to *Met.* III, 22, is that he may appear before his sweetheart in the form of a winged Cupid. This is witty enough but it spoils the primary motivation, for in both versions Lucius makes love to Palaestra only as a means of satisfying his curiosity about magic. The real reason for his wishing to be transformed was that he might learn by experiment whether, if changed into a bird, he should also have the soul of a bird (*Ὀνος*, 13); and the answer to this scientific inquiry is stated in Apuleius (III, 26) as well as in the *Ὀνος* (15), as soon as the transformation has taken place. In describing the encounter between Lucius and Fotis (II, 7-10; 16-17) the Roman writer has again exercised his own talent, as may be seen by a glance at *Ὀνος*, 6-10.<sup>5</sup> So too in *Met.* IV, 3, where *πάντα τὰ λάχανα κάτωθεν ἐξεμέσαι*, *Ὀνος*, 18, is replaced by a much coarser witticism; and in VIII, 26, where the jibe of the priests at the expense of Philebus (*δυναίω—πώλους τοιούτους*, 36) gives place to an entirely different conceit. Again, the whimsical *Selbst-ironie* of *ἐννοούμενος ὥς οὐδὲν εἶην κακίων τοῦ τῆς Πασιφάης μοιχοῦ* (51) vanishes entirely in "nec Minotauri matrem frustra delectatam putarem adultero mugiente" (x, 22), which is more pedantic.

The foregoing examples will suffice to illustrate our author's conscious efforts to be original. We may now consider what sort of innovations Apuleius is most likely to make.

<sup>5</sup> The rendering of *ἡ δὲ ὁσφὺς ἡμῖν ὑγρῶς ἐπικινεῖται. μακάριος ὅστις ἐνταῦθα ἐνεβάψατο* (6) by 'quam mellitum pulmentum apparas (sc. in ollula = *χύτρα* preceding) felix et certius beatus, cui permiseris illuc digitum intingere' is absurd, and has been regarded as due to a misunderstanding of the Greek. It is not improbable, however, that Apuleius simply wished to change the witticism. He is guilty of like absurdity on several occasions elsewhere.



In the allusion to Pasiphae just quoted, it will be noticed that the center of interest shifts from Lucius to the woman. This is characteristic. Apuleius cares much more for women as such than does the author of the *ᾠδος*; for the latter regards them as mere cogs in the machinery of the plot, and never takes them seriously. In the *Metamorphoses*, however, women are often described for their own sentimental or picturesque value. Several new female characters have been introduced, and others are treated from a more subjective, or interested, point of view than in the Greek. This may be seen in the description of Lucius' adventures with Fotis, where the ironical levity of the Greek version, though retained in part by Apuleius, is nevertheless modified by the infusion of sentiment and sensuality. The Roman writer shows genuine enthusiasm for Fotis and her charms, and has represented Lucius' adventure as more of a real love affair than it actually was, according to the *ᾠδος*. Note also the painstaking elaboration in *Met.* x, 20-22 of the scene depicted in *ᾠδος*, 51. Again, when Lucius arrives at Hypata (*Met.* i, 21) Apuleius makes him inquire his way from a gossiping old woman in a tavern. That this is a departure from the original may be seen from *ᾠδος*, 1, where Lucius more naturally addresses this inquiry to his fellow-travelers who lived at Hypata. The change was necessitated by other readjustments made in order to insert the tale of Aristomenes (see Bürger, pp. 27 ff.), but the fact that Apuleius chooses a loquacious old woman as Lucius' informant is not without significance. Another woman is needlessly introduced in *Met.* iv, 3, when Lucius, after kicking his master, tries to run away. In the Greek version (18) the man immediately calls out to his friends to set the dogs on Lucius, but in Apuleius the ass is allowed to run until the man's wife (not mentioned in the *ᾠδος*) has come up and has uttered a lament over her fallen husband, whereupon the bystanders, Lucius' masters the robbers, stirred by the woman's tears, let loose the dogs in revenge. This fondness of Apuleius for introducing and describing female characters, an art of which



he is a real master, is revealed more clearly still in some of the longer interpolations where women have especially prominent rôles, as in the story of Cupid and Psyche and in the introduction thereto (iv, 27); in the tale of the robber Haemus (vii, 6-8), an unduly large proportion of which relates to the virtues of one Plotina; in the tragic history of Charite and Tleptolemus (viii, 1-14); and in the account of the miller's wife (ix, 29-30) and his daughter (*ib.* 31).

I refer to these passages as sure cases of interpolation; but since the reasons for regarding them as such are seldom clearly understood, it seems best to stop at this point and restate some of the evidence. In doing so, we shall get some further glimpses of Apuleian method.

In order to insert the tale of Cupid and Psyche within the hearing of the ass, Apuleius makes him remain in the cave listening to the old woman while the robbers are gone on a plundering expedition (vi, 25). In the *ῥονος*, however, Lucius more naturally accompanies the robbers and helps bring back the spoil (22). Apuleius mentions the robbers' return from this expedition, but, owing to his pre-occupation with Cupid and Psyche, has neglected to mention their departure and the circumstances of the robbery itself (*ῥομος*, 22). It was while Lucius was accompanying the robbers on this first trip that he became lame, and it was because of this lameness that the robbers decided to leave him behind when they returned to fetch the remainder of the spoil, thereby giving him a chance to escape (23). Since Apuleius has kept Lucius out of the first expedition, he is obliged, in order to include the incidents just mentioned, to represent the robbers as making two extra trips to fetch the spoil instead of only one as in the Greek. These perversions can only be explained as due to the interpolation of the story of Cupid and Psyche.

For the contradictions involved in the story of Haemus, see Bürger, p. 13. Nothing need be added to Bürger's proof that this story has been introduced by Apuleius.

Apuleius' account of the fate of Charite and Tleptolemus not only contradicts the brief statement in "Ovos, 34, that both were accidentally drowned at the same time, but, as Bürger observes (pp. 48-49), its introduction does considerable violence to the plausibility of the narrative. Both versions represent the messenger of the tragedy as coming in the dead of night, as if bringing news of an accident that had happened only a short while before. Now the accident mentioned in "Ovos, 34 is said to have taken place on that very evening; but the events described in Apuleius' story require many days to pass between the death of Tleptolemus and that of Charite, so that the announcement of the former's death, which in both versions affects the fortunes of Lucius and his keepers far more directly than that of Charite, is made for the first time long after it had happened—and at midnight. This shows clearly enough that the author of the "Ovos has preserved the original form of the narrative and that Apuleius' story is an interpolation.

Chapter 27 of Book IV must also be an Apuleian addition because it deals entirely with a dream in which Charite is forewarned of the fate that awaits her in Book VIII.

We are told in "Ovos, 43 that Lucius was sold by his master, the miller, because he had become λεπτός πάνυ καὶ ἀσθενής. Apuleius states the cause of this emaciation quite explicitly (IX, 15), but instead of adding the logical result, the voluntary sale of Lucius by his master, he tells us that Lucius was sold because his master was murdered by his very wicked and scheming wife. The miller's daughter is then brought in to lament her father's death (IX, 31).

Other interpolated passages will be discussed as such later on; for the present let us return to the consideration of Apuleius' individual tendencies and *deliciae* as revealed in the minor innovations.

Some of the changes in the *Metamorphoses* are due to the author's fondness for the pomp and formality of life, especially the formal aspects of Roman life and institutions. Thus,



several servants are given to Lucius in *Met.* II, 15 and XI, 20, while elsewhere, according to all appearances (in II, 31; III, 8), and throughout the *Ῥοῖος*, there is only one. In *Ῥοῖος*, 4 Abroea, wishing to speak privately with Lucius, takes him by the hand and leads him a little way apart, but in *Met.* II, 5 she commands the servants to withdraw instead. In VIII, 31 the relation of *colonus* to *dominus* is substituted for that of friend to friend (*Ῥοῖος*, 39). After the plundering of Milo's house, the robbers, according to *Ῥοῖος*, 16, fled to the mountains along an unbeaten path (*ἀτρίπτῳ ὁδῷ*) while Lucius, hard pressed by toil and blows, made many unsuccessful attempts to call out "O Caesar!" Apuleius, however, forgetful of the robbers' expediency and having uppermost in his mind the "venerable and august name" of Caesar and its weight with the populace, brings the party laden with spoil into the midst of a crowded market place, in broad daylight, in order that Lucius may make his appeal more effectively or more properly before an assembly of citizens (*Met.* III, 29). In IX, 41 the soldier who had been beaten by the gardener does not, as in *Ῥοῖος*, 45, go in person before the magistrates and with them to the gardener's hiding place, but conceals himself instead, through shame of having lost his sword and fear of military disgrace. This discriminating little picture of soldierly conduct is dragged in at the cost of no small pains and awkwardness; for the soldier's comrades are obliged to make the prosecution without mentioning the gardener's assault, and in order to do so they have to trump up a false charge against the defendant, to wit, that he had appropriated a silver vase belonging to their commanding officer. This story and the mention of the commander's name is sufficient, according to Apuleius, to enlist the aid of the magistrates, and although no silver vase is subsequently discovered, nor any mention made thereof, the gardener is nevertheless arrested on a nameless capital charge and cast into prison. In the *Ῥοῖος*, however, everything is clear and consistent because the soldier did not conceal the truth about his beating.

Other interpolated passages that reflect Apuleius' interest in Roman institutions and officialdom will be found in the tale of Haemus, in the adventure with Pythias (*infra*, p. 212), in the Risus festival (p. 221), and in the account of Demochares and his gladiatorial outfit (IV, 17; cf. *infra*, pp. 218-219). Such Roman formulae as *quod bonum felix et faustum* (II, 6), *pedibus in sententiam vado* (II, 7, VI, 32), *sine fetiali officio* (II, 16), *auspicium* (II, 18), *porro Quirites* (VIII, 29), etc., are numerous. For other such incidental references to things Roman, cf. Helm, *Apulei Opera*, II, 2, p. xvii.

Another noteworthy tendency of Apuleius is to make the original story more vivid. This, at any rate, is the general effect of various exaggerations, of translating originally abstract expressions into concrete terms, or in other ways introducing realistic details.

The statement in *Ὅνος*, 1 that Lucius' host Milo was very miserly gives Apuleius his cue, and he proceeds to describe the details of Milo's stinginess in a very exaggerated manner (*Met.* I, 21-22). According to *Ὅνος*, 3, Lucius found Milo a good host, his dinner was fair enough, and the wine was sweet and old—and evidently plentiful; but in Apuleius the only thing that Lucius gets for dinner is conversation (I, 26). Yet, in spite of this and similar exaggerations, Apuleius in another passage (II, 3) copies his Greek original (cf. *Ὅνος*, 4) and tells us that Milo was a good host and that Lucius had nothing of which to complain. Fotis' knowledge of magic is likewise somewhat exaggerated; compare *Met.* III, 15 with *Ὅνος*, 11. In the Greek version (21), Lucius manages to filch an occasional loaf of bread from the robbers' kitchen at favorable moments when the old woman has gone out; but according to Apuleius (IV, 22-23), he remains in the pantry all night and only his "asinine modesty" prevents him from eating indefinitely. It is obvious from *Ὅνος*, 22-23 that the place where the robbers held up the passing traveler was no great distance from their cave, for they go there and back with time to spare before evening of the same day; but in



Apuleius the journey one way requires practically all day (VI, 25). This serves to increase Lucius' toil, which is described more fully than in the Greek. Unlike the Greek author Apuleius does not hesitate to contradict himself when he may gain thereby an exaggerated effect, humorous or dramatic. After telling us that Lucius' skin had hardened into hide (III, 24), he makes him complain as follows in VI, 26: "nam et illa ipsa praeclara magia tua vultum laboresque tibi tantum asini, verum corium non asini crassum, sed hirundinis tenue membranulum circumdedit." In *Met.* VIII, 24-25 the jibes of the auctioneer at the expense of Lucius and his prospective buyer are so overdrawn that Apuleius feels obliged to lower the sale price from 30 drachmas ("Ovos, 35) to 17 denarii. The Greek author shows far more restraint and more regard for the proprieties of the occasion; but the exaggerated buffoonery of the Apuleian passage is Plautine and typically Roman. How far our author is capable of being led by his tendency to exaggerate may be seen from *Met.* IX, 41, where he makes his "lictors and other public officers" search every angle of a private house without finding the ass which was loose on the second floor (contrast "Ovos, 45). In another passage (X, 17) the price of the ass is quadrupled instead of doubled ("Ovos, 48).

The Roman writer's fondness for concrete expression and realistic detail is clearly revealed in numerous minor alterations and apparent additions to the Greek text. The description of the manner in which Lucius lost his dinner (IV, 3) is obscenely concrete and contradicts the facts as stated in "Ovos, 18. Instead of finding the old woman hanging from the cliff on their return ("Ovos, 24), the robbers in Apuleius behold her suspended from "a certain branch of a tall cypress tree" (VI, 30). In place of ἐραστήν (14) the Latin has *meum Lucium* (III, 25); for a "big tree" (38) "a certain oak" (VIII, 30); and for οἱ ἔνδον (45) the *hospes* (IX, 41). "Many dogs" (39) is changed to one "hunting dog," (VIII, 31) and the manner of his getting at the meat is carefully explained:

it was hanging behind the kitchen door and rather low. From the author of the *Ὀνος* (37) we learn what the priests did "whenever they came to a town"; but in the *Metamorphoses* their procedure is represented as taking place once "at a certain rich man's villa" (VIII, 27), after which we are informed that it was repeated elsewhere. Compare the passage, already cited, in which Lucius attempts to shout "O Caesar!" on one particular occasion instead of *πολλάκις*. At the beginning of Book IX, in a short episode unquestionably added by Apuleius (*infra*, p. 213) we find mentioned the names and professions of four different men, whose only claim upon our attention lies in the fact that they were among the many victims of a mad dog.<sup>6</sup> When Lucius injures his hoof on a sharp stone the Greek author (22) takes no pains to tell us which one it was, but Apuleius, with some care, explains that the injury was in Lucius' left hoof and right leg (VI, 25).<sup>7</sup> We learn more about these hoofs in VI, 30: "rursum titubas et vacillas et putres isti tui pedes fugere possunt, ambulare nesciunt?"—which is more concrete than *νῦν χωλὸς ὅτε ἀποδιδράσκων ἐάλωκας*; (24). When Lucius belonged to the poor gardener, his fare, according to *Ὀνος*, 43, consisted of "tough and bitter lettuces"; but in Apuleius it is "bitter old lettuces that ran into an enormous growth of seed, and stood up like brushes, filled with a nasty, rotten, slimy sap." (IX, 32, Byrne's translation). Of the two cooks mentioned in *Ὀνος*,

<sup>6</sup> Characters introduced elsewhere who have no part in the plot are: the *senex* accompanying Byrrhena, II, 2; the servant of the priests (VIII, 26), who is brought in merely for the sake of a joke; the little son of the cook, VIII, 31; and the miller's daughter in IX, 31. None of these are mentioned in the *Ὀνος* and since they are superfluous it is probable that they were not mentioned in the original. Apuleius also gives us the names of persons who are either nameless in the Greek or not mentioned at all; so Salvia, the mother of Lucius, II, 2; Theseus, his father, I, 23; Pamphile, the name of Milo's wife, II, 5; Charite, the name of the captive girl, VII, 12; and Tleptolemus, her lover. On the other hand, a number of important characters remain nameless in both versions.

<sup>7</sup> This passage and those that follow involve no contradictions to the substance of the epitome, though they are undoubtedly Apuleian conceits. I cite them merely for their intrinsic interest. There are many others like them; cf. especially *Met.* VI, 31 and *Ὀνος*, 25; VII, 16 and *Ὀνος*, 28; also IX, 12.



46, the one provides "fish and meat," the other "bread and pastry"; whereas, in Apuleius (x, 13) the one cook provides "abundant fragments of pork, fowls, fish, and meats of that sort," and the other "bread, confectionery, iced cakes, crescent cakes, lizard cakes, and an assortment of sweet confections" (Byrne).

This concreteness and love of detail are conspicuous throughout the *Metamorphoses*, in the interpolated sections no less than in the main story. In view of Apuleius' tendency to add such matter, and of the comparative absence of it in the *Ῥογος*, we may reasonably conclude that the original Greek version was much less marked in this respect than the Latin copy.

I come now to a variety of innovations which, though difficult to classify, have the general effect of making the tone of certain parts of the story more serious.

As a mystic Apuleius tends to describe supernatural phenomena somewhat sympathetically, and occasionally in a spirit of genuine superstition rather than in the uniformly ironical or disinterested tone of the *Ῥογος*. So in the *Metamorphoses* Fotis speaks of magic in a tone of exaggerated awe,<sup>8</sup> and Lucius at one time stands in dread of sorcery (II, 11; 20), while at another he is eager, as always in the *Ῥογος*, to investigate it without any thought of personal danger (II, 6). Notice also the serious tone in which Apuleius tells of the miller's death through the agency of a witch (IX, 29-30), and the awful portents preceding the death of the three peasant brothers (IX, 34).<sup>9</sup> But the most conspicuous example of added seriousness is afforded by the whole of Book XI. Here, in place of the farcical ending given in the *Ῥογος*, which is thoroughly consistent with the spirit and tone of the preceding narrative, Apuleius substitutes a long and solemn description of religious mysteries. The mere fact that this ending differs

<sup>8</sup> III, 15; contrast *Ῥογος*, 11: *τούτων μὲν οἶδα οὐδέν*, says Palaestra, *μὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν σὴν καὶ τήνδε τὴν μακαρίαν εὐνὴν*.

<sup>9</sup> Conclusive evidence that this story (IX, 33-38) has been interpolated is given by Bürger, pp. 21-23.

radically from that in the *ῥῶνος* is sufficient proof of its Apulian origin, though there are many other indications to the same effect.<sup>10</sup> Similar incongruity is effected also by the insertion of such tragic stories as that of Charite and Tleptolemus, and of the fate of the three peasant brothers in ix, 33-38.

The tone of the Roman writer is likely to pass from playful to serious whenever he has occasion to animadvert upon something in which he is personally interested. The author of the *ῥῶνος*, for example, shows no interest in persons as such, not even in Lucius; but Apuleius likes to call attention to the lineage and worldly dignity of minor characters as well as of Lucius. The latter's *vetus prosapia* is described in the prologue, which Apuleius has added,<sup>11</sup> and is needlessly and seriously insisted upon elsewhere, especially in connection with the Risus festival.<sup>12</sup> Compare further those passages already cited in which Apuleius dwells upon women, customs, institutions, etc., for their picturesque rather than for their dramatic value.

Numerous sophistic digressions contribute to the same incongruous effect. The essay on human hair in ii, 8-9 is stuffed clumsily into the midst of a lively flirtation. It could not have been in the *Μεταμορφώσεις* because it cannot be fitted into the context of the epitome. Chapter 6, which covers the whole scene depicted in ii, 7-10, consists of continuous and closely interwoven repartie, and Apuleius, in order to get in his essay at all, has been obliged to omit a large part of the Greek author's best wit. As soon as the identity of Lucius' host Hipparchus is made clear to Abroea in *ῥῶνος*, 4, she warns Lucius against Hipparchus' wife, as being a dangerous sorceress. Apuleius keeps the substance of this dialogue (ii, 3; 5) but between the mention of Lucius'

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Rohde in *Rh. Mus.* xl, 76 ff., and Bürger, pp. 52-53.

<sup>11</sup> See *Class. Phil.* xviii, 230, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. i, 2; 23; ii, 2-3; iii, 15; vi, 29; the *prosapia tanta* of Venus in vi, 23; the *prosapiae maiorum gloria* of the oppressor of the three peasant brothers (ix, 35); the *prosapia et dignitas* of Thiasus (x, 18); and the *generosa suboles* of his horses.



host and the warning of Byrrhena (= Abroea), which should follow immediately, he inserts a thirty-line description of the latter's house, to which Lucius is brought for no other purpose. In order to avoid too violent an interruption, however, Apuleius is obliged to change the original conversation. In the Greek, Lucius at first refers to his host without naming him, whereupon Abroea asks his name and, upon being informed, and having made sure of his identity, utters her warning. In the *Metamorphoses*, however, Lucius mentions the name of his host immediately without being asked, so that the conversation is closed and the words *ποῖ δὲ καὶ κατάγῃ . . . τρυφῇ* (3½ lines) are necessarily crowded out. Compare also the description in XI, 3. The Greek author brings in nothing that does not bear directly upon the fortunes of Lucius. When he is not describing some ironical or amusing experience of his protagonist, he is rapidly preparing the setting therefor. Now and then he may cast a cynical eye upon minor characters and events; but it is only for an instant in passing, and he never dwells seriously or subjectively upon anything. But Apuleius, is striving to give us a variety of artistic entertainments, and to exercise his own talent, often passes from the ironical or playful tone to the serious and affected.

Another feature of the *Metamorphoses* which stands in strong contrast to the *Ovos* is the author's subjectivity. Apuleius is continually speaking of his own literary art, or addressing the reader, or making explicit references to stories and storytelling, or putting himself (as in Book XI) in the place of Lucius. Compare VIII, 1, in the introduction to the tale of Charite and Tleptolemus: "sed ut cuncta noritis referam vobis a capite quae gesta sunt quaeque possent merito doctiores quibus stilos fortuna subministrat, in historiae specimen chartis involvere;" IX, 30, introducing the story of the miller's death: "sed forsitan lector scrupulosus reprehendens narratum meum sic argumentabaris, etc.; XI, 3, eius mirandam speciem ad vos etiam referre conitar, si tamen mihi disserendi," etc.; *ib.* 23: "quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector . . .

dicerem." Passages of this sort occur frequently in the *Metamorphoses*, especially when the author introduces a story or some other digression.<sup>13</sup> Almost everywhere, however, the conscious sophistic effort is evident, and one might say of Apuleius that which Tacitus says of Mucianus: "omnium quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator."

Explicit references to stories or story-telling are made in the prologue, in I, 2; 7(?); 20; II, 20; IV, 27; 32, and VI, 25, all referring to Cupid and Psyche; VI, 29; VII, 16; VIII, 1; IX, 4; 14; 17; X, 2; 23.

Like the author himself, Lucius has been initiated into many mysteries and knows how to keep a sacred silence (III, 15; cf. Book XI and *Apol.* 55); and, when he becomes sincerely disgusted with what appears to be the depravity of the female sex (VII, 10-11), when he soliloquizes solemnly on the instability of fortune and how the innocent are often mistaken for the guilty (VII, 2), or when he inveighs with earnest indignation against corrupt judgments (X, 33), it is easy to recognize, beneath the ass's skin, the Carthaginian sophist and the would-be Platonic philosopher. If there had been any noticeable amount of this subjectivity in the Greek *Μεταμορφώσεις*, then the epitome, copied literally, must have reproduced some of it; but since there is not the slightest trace of it in the *Ὀνός*, and since we know that Apuleius has added at least some of it, we have every reason to believe that the style of the original was as simple and objective as that of the epitome.

Passing now to the more organic features of the *Metamorphoses*, we note first that in several places Apuleius has expanded the plot of the original story. The first clear instance occurs in I, 21, where Lucius stops at a tavern to make an inquiry which in the *Ὀνός* he addresses more properly to

<sup>13</sup> Cf. I, 1; IV, 6; 27; 32; VII, 6; VIII, 22, "inibi coeptum facinus oppido memorabile narrare cupio"; IX, 4; 14, "fabulam denique bonam prae ceteris, suavem, comptam ad auris vestras adferre decrevi et en occipio"; *ib.* 32; X, 2, "sed ut vos etiam legatis ad librum profero (*sc.* facinus)"; *ib.* 7, "sed quae plane comperi ad istas litteras proferam"; *ib.* 18; 33.



his fellow-travelers from Hypata (cf. *supra*, p. 201). The encounter with Pythias (I, 24-25) is another case in point: Apuleius tells us that Lucius had to go to the provision market immediately after arriving at Milo's house in order to get himself some dinner; that while he was down town he met an old schoolmate by the name of Pythias, whom he had known at Athens; and that the latter, now an aedile, trampled on his purchase of fish by way of contumely to the merchant who had sold them. In the *ῥονος* (3) Lucius takes dinner with his host, as we should expect, and hence has no occasion to buy provisions (cf. Bürger, p. 31). This meeting with an old friend at Hypata appears to have been suggested by the later meeting with Abroea, the friend of Lucius' mother; and the whole episode looks very much like a mime taken directly from the Roman stage. Again, soon after his transformation Lucius is obliged to share lodgings with his own horse and another ass, both of whom actively resent his intrusion (*ῥονος*, 15). Apuleius retains this incident, but proceeds to add another of his own made on the same pattern (III, 27). He tells us that Lucius, in order to regain his proper form, attempted to eat some roses which he saw in a wreath placed on an image of the (Italian) goddess Epona, and that he was severely beaten by his own servant for the attempt. This episode, as Bürger shows (pp. 38-39), involves many improbabilities and cannot be fitted into the context of the Greek epitome. Moreover, the statement that the beating was interrupted by the incursion of the robbers<sup>14</sup> contradicts the facts as given in the *ῥονος*, to wit, that the robbers broke in long after Lucius' first entrance into the stable, and at a time when all was quiet—*σιωπὴ πολλή καὶ ὕπνος ὁ γλυκύς* (16). Another expansion of the story is made at the beginning of Book IX. In this passage the Greek author relates (40) how Lucius, in order to escape impending death at the hands of a cook, ran into the

<sup>14</sup> This leads Apuleius into another contradiction when he says that the servant fled in terror on the robbers' approach; for in VII, 2 and in *ῥονος*, 16 we learn that this servant was bound in the house, together with the other inmates.

house where his masters were dining and turned everything upside down in the hope that they would think him a dangerous creature and so keep him carefully locked up and guarded. Instead, they thought that he was mad and attacked him, in self-defense as it were, with their spears. He then escaped by running into an adjoining room where he was shut up until morning. All this runs along smoothly enough in the Greek, but Apuleius confuses the whole scene by adding a new and contradictory episode for the sake of a needless explanation. He says that, after Lucius had upset the tables in the dining-room, he was given in charge of a servant to be locked up; that shortly afterwards it was announced that a mad dog had recently bitten a large number of men and domestic animals on the estate; and that the men in the dining-room, on learning this, and concluding that Lucius was mad, paid no heed to the numerous other animals and men, but immediately took up arms and marched out to the stable against Lucius, as if the only source of danger were from him. Being driven from the stable, he rushes back into the house where he remains unmolested. (cf. Bürger, pp. 15-16). The death of the miller is another addition more or less closely connected with the fortunes of Lucius; and so is the gardener's journey with Lucius to the house of a friend who killed himself on learning of the violent death of his three sons (cf. *supra*, n. 9).<sup>15</sup> All of these episodes involve direct and substantial contradictions to the *Ὄνος*, and in most cases to the context of the *Metamorphoses* as well. We may therefore regard them as clear cases of interpolation. There remain a few other noteworthy passages, which, though they involve no serious contradictions, have every appearance of being Apuleian expansions—judging from their style and content.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For the Risus festival as an Apuleian addition, see below, p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> I refer particularly to the story of the boy's death in vii, 24-27, the oracle of the priests in ix, 8, and the flight of the servants in viii, 15-23. For a critical discussion of the first two see Bürger, pp. 43-44, 50-51. The flight of the servants is thus related in the *Ὄνος* (34): καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐλθόντες ὁδὸν ἀργαλείαν καὶ τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες ἐρχόμεθα ἐς πόλιν τῆς Μακεδονίας



It will have been noted that several of the episodes which Apuleius has added are modelled upon, or suggested by, others which are related elsewhere in the text of both versions. This of course results in a duplication of incidents of the same general nature, a thing which the Greek author is careful to avoid. Lucius' unsuccessful attempt to get at roses in the stable anticipates and was probably suggested by another attempt described in *Ὀνος*, 17 (= III, 29—IV, 2), where Apuleius' proneness to duplicate is still further illustrated. The passage in question deals with Lucius' journey in company with the robbers when fleeing from Hypata, and their arrival at a stopping-place on the road. In the Greek version we are told that Lucius was unable to eat any roses for the very good reason that his mouth, and those of the other animals, were muzzled in order to prevent them from browsing along the way. ὥστε ἐς τὴν τότε, says Lucius, καὶ ἔμεινα ὄνος.<sup>17</sup> When they arrived at the stopping-place, the animals were unbridled and barley was spread before them. Lucius did not like this sort of meal and, spying a garden in the back yard, ran thither to eat some vegetables and to investigate some flowers that

*Βέροϊαν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον.* In place of this Apuleius describes at length a few adventures along the road, including an encounter with a terrible dragon disguised as an old man (20–21) and the story of the horrible punishment of a certain slave (22). From scattered but explicit references in the Latin text one gathers that this flight to Beroea occupied the same amount of time as stated in the Greek. It seems more probable that the epitomizer has copied his original literally in this passage, than that he has taken the pains to estimate the length of the journey from such indications as we have in Apuleius. The first stage of the journey in Apuleius brings the party "ad quoddam castellum frequens et opulens" (VIII, 15); and these adjectives, which do not seem very appropriate to a hamlet situated in the midst of a wild region said to be infested with wolves, look as if they had been suggested by the words *μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον* which stand in the corresponding sentence in the *Ὀνος*, and are applied to Beroea, the end of the journey. These points may at least arouse our suspicions, though the style and content of this section constitute the best argument for its Apuleian origin. For similar reasons I would also exclude VII, 1–3 from the original story.

<sup>17</sup> The epitomizer may have omitted some explicit reference to Lucius' actually seeing roses, or some whimsical conceit of the sort supplied by Wieland in his translation: "Daher wäre ich für damals Esel geblieben, auch wenn es Rosen vom Himmel geregnet hätte."



looked like roses but proved to be the poisonous rhododaphne. He had not been long in the garden when he was discovered by his masters and beaten. Now compare Apuleius, III, 29–IV, 2. Here we are told that Lucius saw a garden while on the march, that he walked into it and was about to eat some roses when the idea occurred to him that it would be dangerous to do so: his sudden change into a man might cause the robbers to kill him, or he might run the risk of a future indictment for magic.<sup>18</sup> Therefore he refrained. On arriving at the stopping-place and being let loose to pasture, he sees another garden back of the barn and proceeds thither, not yet however having caught sight of any roses, as he does in the *Ῥόδος*. After eating a bit in the garden, he looks about for some roses and presently catches sight of the rhododaphne some distance away in a grove, whither he proceeds. Looking back over this episode, we see that Apuleius has led Lucius into two gardens and a grove instead of into one garden. Since the ass was muzzled while on the road (*Ῥόδος*, 17), he could have no object in wandering into a garden even if the robbers would let him. This is simply an awkward anticipation of his behaviour at the stopping-place. Further, the statement that Lucius found the rhododaphne in a grove beyond the garden contradicts the

<sup>18</sup> "Ne . . . evidens exitium inter manus latronum offenderem, vel artis magicæ suspicionem vel indicii futuri criminationem"; cf. IX, 6, "vel figuram tuam repente mutatam sequius interpretatus aliquis maligne criminabitur"; III, 16 "quod scelus (sc. magia) nisi tandem desines magistratibus te constanter obicere"; and X, 17, where Lucius is apprehensive of being considered an evil prodigy owing to his uncommon intelligence as an ass. The recurrence of this idea, though originally prompted by *Ῥόδος*, 54, suggests that Apuleius was rather keenly alive to the danger of a man's being accused of magic, and that here, as often in the *Metamorphoses*, especially Book XI, our author is recalling his own experiences. If so, the *Metamorphoses* must have been written after, and not, as some have supposed, before the time of the *Apologia*. In this connection compare XI, 30, "nec extimescerem malevolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem fervebat," with *Apol.*, 4–5, where Apuleius claims that his eloquence was partly responsible for the accusation brought against him. Note further the indignant harangue about the unjust trial of Socrates (X, 33) and Lucius' meditation on how the innocent are mistaken for the guilty (VII, 2), and "quam plerumque insontes periclitantur homines!" in IX, 10.



Greek. Apuleius brought this in because he had to explain why Lucius, who, according to his version, had refrained from eating roses shortly before when he had a chance, should now be anxious to do so. Apuleius would make it appear that the grove was far enough away so that Lucius could not be seen. Nevertheless, Lucius is seen, and one of his masters runs out to the grove and beats him for eating in the garden.

Other cases of duplication have already been noted. As a result of having kept Lucius in the cave for the purpose of listening to the tale of Cupid and Psyche, Apuleius has been obliged to represent the robbers as making two extra trips to fetch the remainder of the spoil instead of only one (cf. *supra*, p. 202). The false charge brought against the gardener in IX, 41 (p. 204)—that he had appropriated a silver vase belonging to an army officer—is patterned after IX, 9 (= *Ὀνος*, 41) where the priests steal a golden urn from the temple of a local deity, and are afterwards thrown into prison for it. The exhaustive search of the house by the “lictors and other public officers” (IX, 41) who, however, fail to find the ass, is an awkward anticipation of the successful search which follows immediately in both versions (*Ὀνος*, 45, *Met.* IX, 42) after Lucius has betrayed his hiding-place. In the same passage, when the ass protrudes his head from an upper window and gazes upon the crowd below, no shadow is required to reveal his presence in the house; but Apuleius tells us that Lucius was betrayed by means of his shadow and thus succeeds in explaining the origin of two proverbs (*de prospectu et umbra asini*) instead of only one, ἐξ ὄνου παρακύψεως. The words of Lucius in *Met.* I, 21, “prospicue Demeas meus in me consuluit,” etc., which are addressed to the old woman at the inn (cf. *supra* p. 201) are suggested by those of Hipparchus to Lucius later in *Ὀνος*, 2: ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν φίλτατος . . . Δεκριανὸς (= Demeas) εὖ ποιεῖ καὶ θαρρῶν πέμπει, etc., which in turn are echoed by Apuleius in I, 22–23.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The following passages also involve noteworthy duplications and were therefore probably not in the original, although there are no other indications



This proneness to anticipate in an earlier passage an incident or an idea that properly belonged further on sometimes results merely in a change in the order of events. Thus Milo, in spite of his distrust of strangers, which Apuleius himself has exaggerated, offers Lucius the hospitality of his home before reading his letter of introduction (I, 22; contrast *Ἦνος*, 2). Pamphile (III, 21) anoints herself before invoking the lamp; but it is clear that the reverse order as given in *Ἦνος*, 12 is correct, since we see from the transformation of Lucius (III, 24; *Ἦνος*, 13) that it is not the incantation that brings about the metamorphosis, but the ointment itself, the effect of which is immediate. In IV, 22-23, the robbers are said to have started out on another expedition on the very night in which they had returned from their long journey to Hypata. In the *Ἦνος*, however, this trip is not begun until the next day, and then, instead of returning within a few hours with the girl, as in Apuleius, they are gone three days. Apuleius seems to be in a hurry to introduce the captive girl. The announcement that Lucius is a "Cappadocian" is made by the auctioneer in Apuleius, VIII, 24, but by his purchaser, Philebus, on a later occasion in the *Ἦνος*, 36. Lucius had better reason to say that Fortune was "smiling upon" him when he was taken to dinner with his master (*Ἦνος*, 47) than previously when he was discovered eating his master's confections secretly (x, 16).

At the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius announces his intention of weaving together various stories.<sup>20</sup> Reference is here made, partly no doubt to the insertion of separate stories into the framework of the *Luciad* (*fabulam Graecanicam*); but since we find some instances in which two or more *novellae* to that effect: III, 14, *adiuro—caput*, cf. III, 23 (*Ἦνος*, 11); VIII, 25, *lymphaticus exilire*, etc., cf. IX, 1, (*Ἦνος*, 40); VIII, 25, the apprehensions of Philebus about the image of his goddess, cf. VIII, 30 (*Ἦνος*, 38); x, 19, *ad instar asinariae Pasiphaae*, cf. x, 22 (*Ἦνος*, 51).

<sup>20</sup> I, 1, "varias fabulas conseram" etc. On the Apuleian origin of this sentence, as well as of the entire prologue, see *Class. Phil.* xviii, 230, n. 2. Note also the self-conscious reference to story-telling which, as we have already seen, is peculiarly Apuleian.



have obviously been dovetailed one into the other, we may well believe that Apuleius is directly responsible for this sort of "weaving" also, and for more of it than we can actually prove.

The fortunes of Lamachus, Alcimus, and Thrasyleon respectively, as told in iv, 9-21, constitute three very distinct *Schwänke*; yet they are told by one of the robbers as the experiences of his comrades on a single expedition. Evidently Apuleius has taken these three stories from some Greek collection of *novellae* where they were told separately. At any rate, they could scarcely have stood in the original story of Lucius. Bürger (p. 41) rejects them because of their style, and in view of their loose connection with the main story; but there are better indications which he overlooked. The situation as described in both texts is this (*Ὅνος*, 21; *Met.* iv, 8). Lucius has just arrived at the robbers' cave in company with the men who had carried him off. Presently there arrives another band of robbers, more numerous than the first, and laden with a huge burden of costly spoil, *πλείστα ὅσα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ κόσμον γυναικεῖον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον πολύν*, or, according to Apuleius, "booty consisting of gold and silver coin, valuable plate, and robes of silk and gold brocade." Both parties then fall to carousing. At this point the author of the *Ὅνος* leaves them and turns his attention to Lucius; but in Apuleius everything that immediately follows is contradictory: one of the men belonging to the party that had carried off Lucius taunts the newly arrived party with failure, saying that they have come back badly reduced in numbers and that their thefts have been paltry and insignificant—"enim vos bonae frugi latrones inter furta parva atque servilia timidule per balneas et aniles cellulas reptantes scrutariam facitis." In reply to this, the spokesman of the newly arrived party admits implicitly the failure of his comrades, and proceeds to relate as the complete and immediate experiences of his own company the adventures involving the deaths of Lamachus, Alcimus, and Thrasyleon, all of which



result in comparative failure, and so contradict the preceding statement, according to which these same robbers had returned with an unusually large amount of valuable spoil. In the first adventure the robbers do not even get into the house; in the second Alcimus is killed while robbing a poor old woman even of her bed-clothes, and nothing is said of any booty being secured; in the third the robbers are said to have gotten a certain amount of gold and silver which they managed to stow away before the household of Demochares was aroused. This does not account for the *κόσμον γυναικεῖον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον πολύν*, nor do I believe that in the pre-Apuleian form of the last story there was any carrying away of gold and silver. The attempt at robbery must have been an absolute failure like the others. According to iv, 18 Thrasyleon, who in the guise of a bear had been given to Demochares and was kept indoors, kills several servants on guard and lets the whole band of robbers into the house. He then shows them the room where the money is kept and they break violently into it, “*perfracto confertae manus violentia.*” Everyone is then ordered to carry away as much gold and silver as he can, and after hiding it in a sepulchre outside the city, to return for more. While Thrasyleon and the speaker are quietly waiting for their comrades to return, a servant wakes up and alarms the household, whereupon Thrasyleon is pursued and killed. One wonders why the robbers, who had undisturbed access to the house, did not make a clean sweep in the beginning and take Thrasyleon away with them; but it is still more strange that the household should sleep while the robbers were battering down the treasury and killing the guards, only to be aroused and alarmed later by a servant who happened to wake up when everything was quiet and no one in the house but the familiar bear. Under these circumstances there was no reason why Thrasyleon, so highly valued by his master as a bear, should be pursued and killed; for he was doing no particular harm at the time, and practically the entire household had long been accustomed to handling bears (iv, 17). The death



of Thrasyleon, like that of Lamachus and Alcimus, must have occurred while he was *attempting* robbery. By a *tour de force*, however, Apuleius has allowed the robbers to get some of Demochares' treasure in order to avoid too obvious a contradiction; but there can be little doubt that in the original story, wherever it came from, the whole attempt at robbery was nipped in the bud.

If one examines the biographical account in x, 23-28 of the woman condemned to the beasts, he will find that it consists of three distinct *novellae* each complete in itself. The first (23-24) tells of the cruelty of a jealous wife to her husband's sister and is comparable in nature and length to the short tale of intrigue related in viii, 22. Perhaps it was taken from the same source. The second (25-26) involves a different motive: this time the woman induces a physician to give her husband poison, then very adroitly compels the poison dispenser to drink his own medicine in his victim's presence. In the third episode (27-28) the woman attempts to avoid payment for the poison she has bought on a different occasion by poisoning the seller, this time a woman. We cannot of course prove that Apuleius was the first to string these stories together as the deeds of one person; yet I have no doubt that he did so, in order to justify as fully as possible the woman's condemnation to the beasts.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It may be going too far to suggest that perhaps also in the tale of Thelyphron (ii, 21-30) Apuleius has made one story out of two; yet I have always felt that the unity of this story was more formal than real. The murder of the young husband by his wife and the subsequent discovery of the latter's guilt when the victim was brought back to life may once have been a separate story. The wife's guilt is strangely contradictory to the scrupulous and to all appearances loving care which she previously shows in guarding her husband's body from the witches. If she had murdered him, why should she be so anxious about the welfare of his corpse? And, when the dead man, after being brought to life, attempts to prove his statement that his wife poisoned him by telling what happened to Thelyphron, he is not very convincing nor relevant. Just what the original dénouement in the witch story was one can only guess—perhaps it was essentially the same as Apuleius gives it except for the somewhat incongruous murder story; but, whatever it was, I suspect that it took place at the end of chap. 26, where Thelyphron on the morning after his unsuccessful vigil is



The account of the festival of Risus (II, 31; III, 1-11) has been regarded by all the critics with whom I am familiar, including Bürger, as belonging in the original story of Lucius; but a close study of the context will show that this supposition is very improbable, and that the episode in question must have been woven in by a later hand, that is, by Apuleius himself. The treatment of this passage, which contains many puzzling obscurities, has been omitted here for lack of space, and will form the subject of a separate paper to be published in the near future.

The distribution of independent stories at intervals throughout the *Luciad* is not haphazard. As a rule, they are introduced into the most appropriate setting that the plot affords, though this may not be very good; and stories of the same sort are, with some exceptions, grouped together. Thus, the three robber stories are interpolated in Book IV while Lucius is staying at the robber's cave, and a fourth, that of Haemus, follows in the same setting (VII, 6). The fact that all these stories have been added by Apuleius leads us to suspect the same of similar groups elsewhere, such as the three stories of adultery in Book IX and the stories of female vengeance in Book X.

In reviewing the literary habits of Apuleius, as revealed in the passages we have discussed, the following points are noteworthy: that he consciously strives for originality and has added or substituted many passages of his own ranging in length from a few words to an entire book; that he is responsible for a long list of palpable errors, many of them structural and artistic, others due to carelessness or violation of the common demands of logic and plausibility;<sup>22</sup> that he is par-driven from the house by the servants—"sic in modum superbi iuvenis Adonis vel musici vatis Pipleii laceratus atque discerptus domo proturbor."

For the view that Apuleius' tale of Cupid and Psyche is a contamination of two originally separate legends, see the article by J. von Wageningen, "Psyche Ancilla," *Mnemosyne*, XLIV (1916), 177.

<sup>22</sup> In view of the many errors that Apuleius has made in retelling what he calls the "Greek story" (I, 1), one must not take seriously the contention of



particularly fond of introducing and describing female characters; that he takes a special interest quite foreign to the Greek author in the formal aspects of life and institutions, especially Roman, and that he has interpolated references to, or descriptions of, matters pertaining to the law courts, the army, the magistrates, the worldly dignity and equipage of certain persons, and the public shows and festivals; that he exaggerates the substance of his Greek original; that he makes the story more picturesque by the substitution of concrete for more abstract representation, and by the addition of numerous details; that he interpolates stories of a tragic nature, such as that of Charite and Tleptolemus; that he makes the tone of many parts of the original narrative more serious by a variety of innovations (by substituting Book XI in place of the farcical ending given in the *Ῥομος*, by describing magic phenomena at times in a spirit of genuine superstition, by the insertion in the midst of an otherwise lively narrative of elaborate, sophistic descriptions, by showing a serious interest in minor objects and persons for their own sake, by his subjective attitude towards things which the Greek author treats objectively and indifferently, by making Lucius more dignified and reflective, and by self-conscious references to his own literary art); that he expands the original story by adding to Lucius' adventures; that many of the added episodes are suggested by or patterned after events related in the original; that he duplicates certain incidents and ideas, generally as a

Enrico Cocchia that Apuleius wrote the original Greek version in his youth and that the Latin *Metamorphoses* is merely a revision of the author's own work. Cocchia's book (*Romanzo e realtà nella vita e nell'attività letteraria di Lucio Apuleio*) written in 1915, has, however, passed without serious challenge almost everywhere outside of Germany. It was hailed by a prominent American scholar as "a long step in the right direction" (*A.J.P.* xxxviii, 317) and described by an Englishman as written with "grasp and understanding" (*C.R.* xxxi, 28). As a matter of fact, Cocchia's book, when judged from the scientific standpoint, is worthless. The main thesis, supported by no jot of reliable evidence, is demonstrably wrong; and the large number of errors which the book contains makes it wholly unreliable and misleading, even as a guide to the opinions of other scholars, several of whom are badly misunderstood or misrepresented.



result of anticipating passages in the original, then retaining them later on in their proper places; that this tendency to anticipate sometimes results in a reversal of the proper order of events; that certain separate stories have been dovetailed one into the other; and that when it comes to adding embellishments of various sorts, he shows a strong tendency to sow with the sack instead of with the hand.

These observations are founded exclusively upon such passages in the *Metamorphoses* as can be clearly proved, by the context and by comparison with the *Ὅνος*, to be the innovations of Apuleius. Each of the phenomena referred to is illustrated by at least one indubitable instance, and in most cases by many more. There remain, of course, many passages not found in the *Ὅνος* which show these Apuleian peculiarities plainly enough, but which do not happen to contradict the context or the substance of the epitome. Conspicuous among these are the numerous independent *novellae*, most of which are introduced abruptly or self-consciously and are written in a spirit and tendency differing from that of the main narrative. That these *novellae* have all been added by Apuleius can scarcely be doubted when we take into account the Roman writer's methods and tendencies as outlined above and the fact that there is no trace of anything of the sort, either in the *Ὅνος*, where everything is direct and uniformly ironical, or in any other Greek novel. When a Greek author wishes to tell a series of stories he makes no attempt to weave them together or to suggest that they have any connection with each other; instead, he follows the established norm of such works as Parthenius' *Ἐρωτικά παθήματα*, Plutarch's *Ἐρωτικά διηγήσεις*, or Lucian's *Toxaris*, etc., which profess to be nothing more than collections of separate items, usually homogeneous. Of course, an eccentric writer might disregard these common conventions—*quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas*. But it is significant that we have no knowledge of any Greek work in which separate *fabulae* were woven together as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, nor of any Greek romance, however



discursive, into which *fabulae* as such are deliberately inserted, as they are in Petronius and Apuleius. The practice would seem to be peculiarly Roman. At any rate, we know that it is Apuleian because we can prove that several of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* have been added by the Roman writer,<sup>23</sup> and this accords with his own promise at the beginning, *varias fabulas conseram*.

On the other hand, the assumption that some of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* were taken from the Greek original and that the latter work had the same loose structure that we find in Apuleius, is extremely difficult to reconcile with the title *Μεταμορφώσεις*, for with that loose structure the metamorphoses would be buried in a mass of other material claiming an independent interest. But in the *Luciad* proper we find many references to the general subject of metamorphoses, which is discussed at the beginning and thereafter effectively illustrated, first by Lucius' adventures with the metamorphosed wineskins, then by his own transformation into an ass as the result of his curious investigations, and finally by his change, according to the metaphorical language of *Ὅνος*, 56, from a useful beast into an ape (*ἐς πίθηκον μεταμορφωθείς*). To such a story, where the primary motivation is uninterrupted and stands forth clearly, the title *Μεταμορφώσεις* is thoroughly appropriate; but it would surely not have been appropriate to, and probably would not originally have been given to, a conglomeration of tales like that of Apuleius, which have nothing to do with metamorphoses, and which cause us to lose sight of the efficient motif.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Besides those stories which we have already discussed (*supra*, pp. 202 f. and 218 ff.), the following also involve serious organic contradictions: the tale of Aristomenes (I, 5-19; see Bürger, pp. 27-29); the tale of the robber Haemus (VII, 6-8; *supra*, p. 8); and the story about the death of the three peasant brothers (IX, 33-38; see Bürger, pp. 21-33).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Class. Phil.* XVIII, 231 ff. and chapter iii of my dissertation. It is commonly assumed, but without any authority, that the story of Lucius was confined to the first two books of the lost *Μεταμορφώσεις*. In that case it must have been fairly short. But even that part of the Latin text which deals only with the fortunes of Lucius comprises some 150 Teubner pages; and so, if we



In reconstructing the outlines of the original Greek *Μεταμορφώσεις*, so far as the extant derivatives will allow, I would include only the following major incidents: Lucius' conversation about magic on his way to Thessaly (I, 2-4; 20; cf. *Ῥογος*, 1), including perhaps some short anecdotes of the kind related in Lucian's *Philopseudes*;<sup>25</sup> arrival at the house of Hipparchus and dinner (*Ῥογος*, 2-3); search about town for a witch and the meeting with Abroea, who tells him about Hipparchus' wife (*Ῥογος*, 4-5); love-making to the maid Palaestra for the purpose of learning Pamphile's magic secrets (*Ῥογος*, 6-10); dinner at the house of Abroea, where there may have been some further discussion of metamorphoses (*Met.* II, 18 ff.); slaughter of the metamorphosed wineskins on the return home (II, 32); Palaestra's explanation on that same night as to how the wineskins were animated (III, 15-18); Lucius' request that Palaestra show him her mistress in action (*Ῥογος*, 11, *Met.* III, 19); the metamorphoses of Pamphile into a bird and of Lucius into an ass (*Met.* III, 21-25, *Ῥογος*, 12-14); events as related in *Ῥογος*, 15-26, except that the manner in which the robbers are captured through the help of the girl's fiancé may have been told more fully than in chapter 26, and must have differed from the account given in Apuleius;<sup>26</sup> events as

were to add thereto even a few of the independent *novellae* the story would far exceed the limit of two books of prose fiction, normally about 45 pages. Then too, consider what sort of book we should have to postulate in that case—a collection of stories, the first one of which, contained in two abnormally long books, was itself broken up by the insertion of other stories having nothing to do with metamorphoses and of the most diverse nature. Such disregard of the commonest literary conventions is not to be expected even in late and ignorant Greek authors, much less in an author who lived before the time of Apuleius and who wrote in a style which Photius describes as *σαφής τε καὶ καθαρός*. This style is clearly shown in the epitome of his work; for in spite of numerous vulgarisms, which may be due to the epitomizer or to other later hands, the language of the *Ῥογος* is for the most part that of an able and discriminating Atticist, and far better than that of any other Greek novel. Cf. Neukamm, *De Luciano Asini auctore*, pp. 77-78, and W. Schmid, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxix, 167; also chapter v of my dissertation.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Bürger, pp. 29-30.

<sup>26</sup> Apuleius says that the young man gained the robbers' confidence by pretending to be the famous Thracian robber Haemus, and that after he had been



related in the remainder of the *Ὀνος* except for a noteworthy gap at the end of 42, where Apuleius gives us an account of the way Lucius betrayed his mistress in adultery. This may have served to explain the latter's persecution of Lucius, which made him λεπτός πάνυ καὶ ἀσθενής, and it probably gave Apuleius his cue for adding two other stories of adultery in the same context.<sup>27</sup>

In the *Ὀνος* the most obvious and most serious omissions are those of the conversation about magic on the way to Hypata and probably also at Byrrhena's dinner-party, and Lucius' adventure with the metamorphosed wineskins. It was doubtless because the author of the *Ὀνος* omitted these important motivating incidents that he called his epitome Λούκιος ἡ *Ὀνος* instead of Μεταμορφώσεις.

As for Apuleius, the bizarre nature of his work, resulting from the indiscriminate mixture of heterogeneous elements, is due to interpolation; and we may well doubt whether any type of original composition, especially Greek, was ever so multifarious and loose in its general make-up. For the historian of ancient literature these matters are of prime importance; but as readers we can only be thankful that the author has preserved so much interesting lore that would otherwise have been lost. In spite of the numerous errors in logic and composition, Apuleius as a story-teller shows real ability; he has added many a brilliant touch of wit, and his lively and realistic portrayals of common life are scarcely to be matched in ancient literature outside of Petronius. The *Metamorphoses* was not written for an epideictic purpose like the author's *Apologia*, and many of his other works, but as chosen as leader of the band, he succeeded in drugging them by acting as chef—"verrit, sternit, coquit, tuceta concinnat, adponit scitule, sed praecipue poculis crebris," etc. (VII, 11). It is probable that in the original version this young man entered the robbers' service in the capacity of a cook, for that position had become vacant shortly before by the death of the old woman. His pretense of being a famous robber is contradictory to the immediately preceding statement of the robber who introduced him to the others, according to which he was a novice and a beggar (VII, 4.)

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Bürger, p. 20.

an *informal* book of entertainment. As such it is very successful. We may regret the loss of the well-balanced Greek original; but it is better, I think, that this should have perished than that we should have lost that Egyptian papyrus so curiously engraved with exotic figures by the Nilotic reed of Apuleius of Madaura.





Plate I

Waxed Tablet  
at the  
University of Michigan  
*First Inside Page*

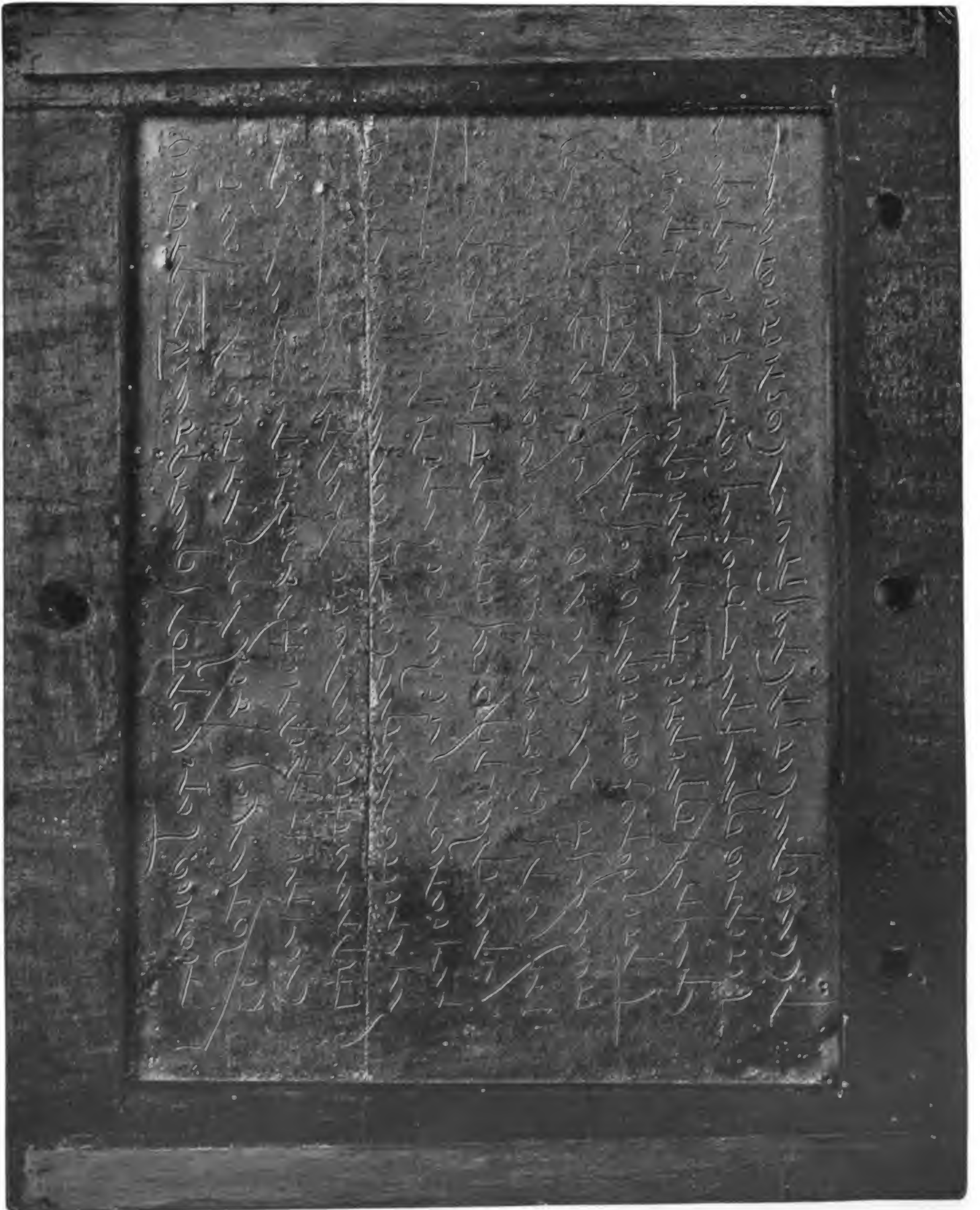






Plate II

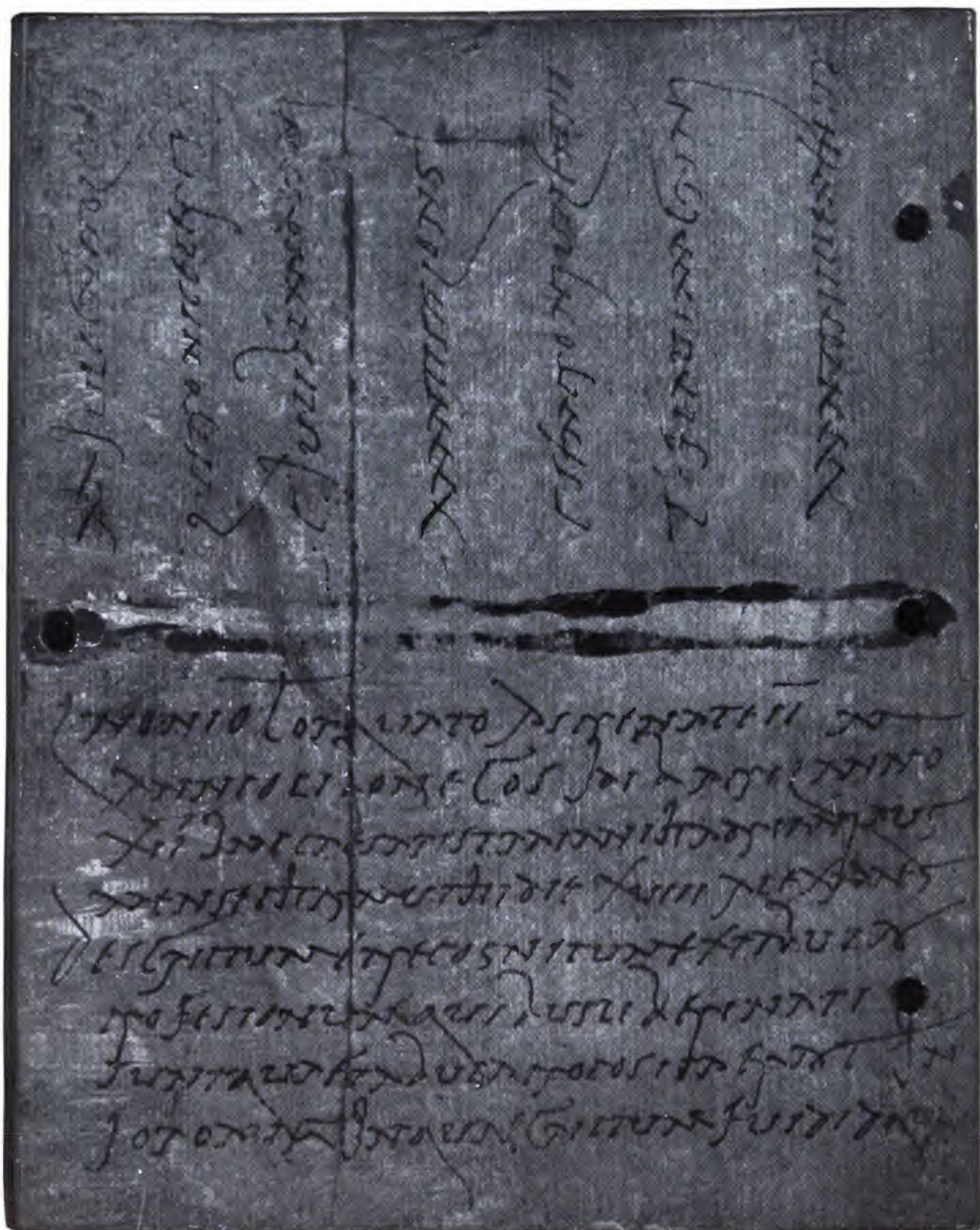
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at the  
University of Michigan  
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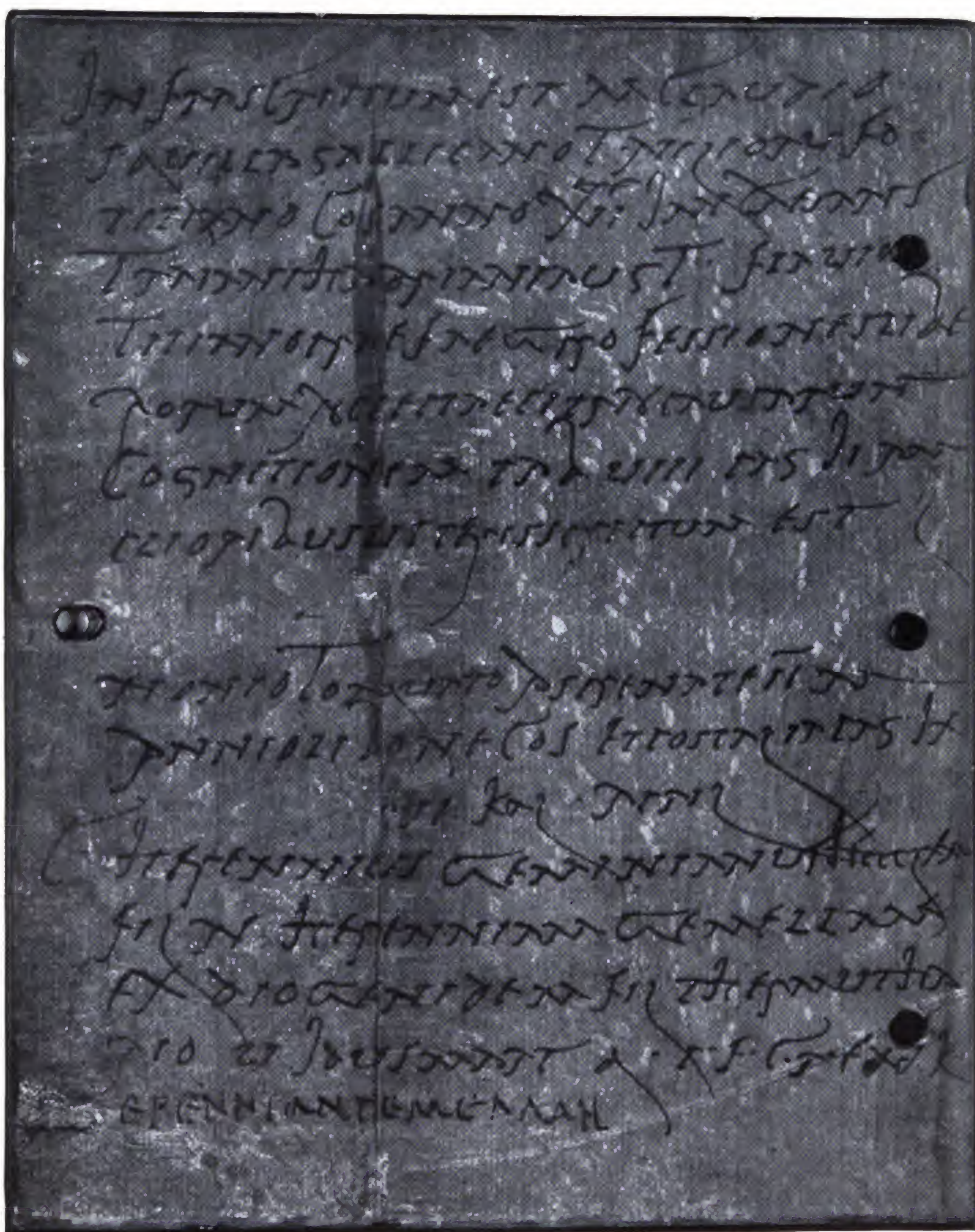
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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
ALSO OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

EDITED BY  
CLARENCE P. BILL  
*Secretary of the American Philological Association*

VOLUME LIV  
1923

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION THROUGH ITS SECRETARY  
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY  
CLEVELAND, OHIO





# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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## I. PROGRAMME

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

FIRST SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

ALFRED C. SCHLESINGER

Draco in the Hearts of his Countrymen <sup>1</sup>

ROBERT S. RADFORD

The Development of Ovid's Works, with Especial Reference  
to the *Priapea*, the *Consolatio*, the Double Epistles  
(*Her.* 16-21), and the Second *Amores* (p. xxii)

E. ADELAIDE HAHN

Against Interpreting "invidisse deos," *Aeneid*, XI, 269,  
as an Exclamation (p. xviii)

FRANK G. MOORE

Annalistic Method as Related to the Book Divisions in  
Tacitus (p. 5)

FRANCIS W. KELSEY

A Wax Tablet of the Year 128 A.D. (p. 187)

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

The Revolt of Chalcidice (p. xxi)

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

Hector's Fault in Honor (read by title; p. 117)

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

Notes on Hellenistic Chronology (read by title)

HENRY S. GEHMAN

The *Peta-Vatthu*, Book IV, Translated into English (read by  
title) <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To be published in *Classical Philology*.

<sup>2</sup> To be published in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Colombo, Ceylon.



E. ADELAIDE HAHN

On the Interpretation of *Georgics*, I, 201–203

(read by title; p. xix)

G. A. HARRER

The Site of Cicero's Villa at Arpinum (read by title) <sup>1</sup>

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

Trajan's Danube Road and Bridge (read by title)

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

7.15 O'CLOCK P.M.

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

Illusion and the Ideal: Annual Address of the President of  
the Association <sup>2</sup>

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

SECOND SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

E. G. SIHLER

Polybius of Megalopolis, the Statesman, Historian, and  
Political Thinker of Decadent and Decaying Greece

BEN E. PERRY

Some Aspects of the Literary Art of Apuleius in the  
*Metamorphoses* (p. 196)

J. O. LOFBERG

*Συνηγορία* and *συκοφαντία* (p. xix)

MARY A. GRANT

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

Cicero's *Orator* and Horace's *Ars Poetica* (p. xvii)

ANDREW R. ANDERSON

A Critique of Theories of Composition of the *Aeneid*

NORMAN W. DEWITT

The Influence of the Saviour Sentiment upon Vergil (p. 39)

<sup>1</sup> To be published in *Studies in Philology*, October, 1924.<sup>2</sup> Published in the *Harvard Graduates Magazine*, March, 1924.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON <sup>1</sup>

On the Manichean Seals of Faith (read by title)

ROLAND G. KENT

The Vergilian Appendix: Metrical Arguments as to its  
Authorship (read by title; p. 86)

W. H. KIRK

*Aeneid*, I, 599, *exhaustis* or *exhaustos*? (read by title) <sup>2</sup>

L. A. POST

A Supposed Historical Discrepancy in the Platonic Epistles  
(read by title; p. xxi)

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

The Silent Actor in Roman Comedy (read by title)

ROBERT S. RADFORD

A Study of the Language of the Pseudo-Vergilian *Catalepton*,  
with Especial Reference to its Ovidian Characteristics  
(read by title; p. 168)

THIRD SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

WILLARD CONNELLY

Imprints of the *Heroides* on the *Legend of Good Women* (p. xv)

B. L. ULLMAN

Petrarch's Favorite Books (p. 21)

CORNELIA C. COULTER

Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages <sup>3</sup>

W. P. MUSTARD

The Sacred Eclogues of Antonio Geraldini (read by title) <sup>4</sup>

ROUND TABLE SESSIONS, 4 O'CLOCK P.M.

*Medieval Latin, its Opportunities and Problems as a Field  
for Study and Research.* Discussion opened by Professor

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLIV, 68-72.

<sup>2</sup> To be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.

<sup>3</sup> To be published in the *Studies in Philology*.

<sup>4</sup> To be published as the Introduction to an edition of Geraldini's Eclogues  
(Johns Hopkins University Press).



Lane Cooper, of Cornell University, representing the Modern Language Association. Report by Professor Charles H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, on a new dictionary of Medieval Latin and on the Medieval Latin primer which Professor Beeson has in preparation.

*The Influence of Rhythm and Meter on the Formation of Indo-European Words and Clauses.* Discussion opened by Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University.

## SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

Latin Exercises from a Greek School Room

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

## FOURTH SESSION, 9.30 A.M.

H. B. VAN HOESSEN

Improvement of Resources in American Libraries for the Study of the Classics and Archaeology (p. xxiii)

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

Joseph and Potiphar in Hindu Fiction (p. 141)

ROBERT J. KELLOGG

The Euxine Ring: a Study of Early Indo-European Dispersion

CHARLES R. LANMAN

Grammars for Beginners: Some Frequent Fundamental Errors

WILLIAM K. PRENTICE

Callisthenes, the Original Historian of Alexander (p. 74)

H. L. CROSBY

Lucian and the Art of Medicine (p. xv)

## FIFTH SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

ERNEST A. DALE

*Ecce iterum Archytam* (p. xvi)

S. GRANT OLIPHANT

Caesar, *B.G.* vii, 41, 1: a Defence of the Text

CLARENCE A. MANNING

The Monsters of the Steppes (p. xx)

RODNEY P. ROBINSON

Valerius Cato (read by title; p. 98)

F. W. SHIPLEY

Vergil's Half-lines and their Bearing upon Some Points of his  
Verse Technique (read by title) <sup>1</sup>

R. B. STEELE

The Authorship of the *Culex* (read by title)

E. H. STURTEVANT

Harmony and Clash of Accent and Ictus in the Latin Hexam-  
eter (read by title; p. 51)

L. C. WEST

Commercial Syria under the Roman Empire (read by title)

<sup>1</sup> To be published in the *Washington University Record*, Humanistic Series,  
1924.



## II. MINUTES

PRINCETON, N. J.

## FIRST SESSION

Thursday afternoon, December 27, 1923.

The Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting was called to order by the President of the Association, Professor Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard University, in McCormick Hall, Room 121, Princeton University. The session was attended by about 175 people.

The Secretary, Professor Clarence P. Bill of Western Reserve University, reported as follows:

Volume 53 of the *Transactions and Proceedings* was published early in November, over a month later than the expected time. This tardiness was due partly to unusual typographical difficulties, but mainly to delay in the delivery of certain manuscripts. The Secretary fully appreciates the desirability of greater promptness in publication.

Membership has grown ten per cent during the year. The Endowment Fund has increased over \$1000, and now totals about \$11400. It produces an annual income, available toward the cost of the *Transactions and Proceedings*, of about \$650.

The Association now has 953 members, distributed as follows:

Regular annual members. . . . .	756
From the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast . . . . .	70
Life members. . . . .	99
Relieved from payment of dues because of age and length of membership . . . . .	28
	<hr/>
	953

The membership record for the year has been as follows:

New members. . . . .	89
Reinstated . . . . .	9
Gain in members from the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast. . . . .	11
Total gain . . . . .	<hr/> 109
Members lost	
By death. . . . .	4
By resignation. . . . .	7
Transferred to the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast . . . . .	1
Dropped for failure in payment of dues. . . . .	11
	<hr/>
Total loss. . . . .	23
Total net gain. . . . .	86

The new members elected by the Executive Committee during the past year are as follows:

Prof. Joanna Baker, Lake Erie College.  
Miss Edith A. Beck, Haverhill, Mass.  
Dr. Mary V. Braginton, Mount Holyoke College.  
John Bridge, Lehigh University.  
Miss Cornelia P. Brossard, St. Louis, Mo.  
Dr. Mary C. Burchinall, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Paul H. Burg, St. Louis, Mo.  
Dr. Eli E. Burriss, Washington Square College.  
Dr. James M. Campbell, Brookland, D. C.  
Prof. Marjorie Carpenter, Stephens College.  
James A. Carr, St. Louis, Mo.  
Clive H. Carruthers, McGill University.  
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Chartiers, Gloversville, N. Y.  
Rev. Joseph P. Christopher, Catholic University.  
Miss A. D. Choate, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. Helen W. Cole, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.  
Willard Connely, Harvard University.  
Prof. Raymond H. Coon, Indiana University.  
Mrs. F. G. Cressey, Denison University.  
Miss Nellie Cunningham, St. Louis, Mo.  
Leslie Dana, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. Irville F. Davidson, St. Stephens College.  
Prof. Charles C. Delano, Mt. Allison University.  
Miss Dorothy Dixon, Lexington, Mass.  
Miss Helen M. Donnelly, St. Louis, Mo.  
Mother M. Edith, Loretto College.  
John B. Edwards, Wells College.  
Miss Hildegard J. Fitz-Maurice, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof. A. D. Fraser, Jamestown College.  
Miss Elsie A. Garlach, Albright College.  
J. W. Glynn, Jr., Dartmouth College.  
Dr. Mason D. Gray, Rochester, N. Y.  
Miss T. Jennie Green, State Teachers' College, Kirksville, Mo.  
Rev. H. A. Grelis, Villanova College.  
William E. Gwatkin, Princeton University.  
Edwin H. Hazen, Yale University.  
Sister Helen, College of Saint Teresa.  
Miss Hilda Hiemenz, St. Louis, Mo.  
Dr. Ernest L. Highbarger, Northwestern University.  
Urban T. Holmes, Paris, France.  
Dr. H. M. Houston, Emory and Henry College.  
Dr. Leo V. Jacks, York, Nebr.  
Prof. F. A. Jurkat, Cedarville College.  
Prof. John B. Kelso, College of Wooster.  
Miss Rosalie Kaufmann, St. Louis, Mo.



Prof. Samuel S. Kingsbury, Carroll College.  
Hugo A. Koehler, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. Paul E. Kretzmann, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. M. G. Kyle, Xenia Theological Seminary.  
Prof. Mark H. Liddell, Purdue University.  
John W. Logan, Randolph-Macon College.  
Miss D. Aileen Lougee, Keuka College.  
Rev. Thomas J. McGourty, Catholic University.  
Prof. J. Gresham Machen, Princeton Theological Seminary.  
Prof. James A. McMillen, Washington University.  
Prof. Frank B. March, University of Texas.  
Miss Anna C. Mellick, New York, N. Y.  
Prof. Roland J. Mulford, Princeton University.  
Paul Murphy, College of Idaho.  
Percival C. Norris, Providence, R. I.  
Prof. P. R. Norton, Princeton University.  
Dr. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, Brown University.  
Mrs. Mary B. Pollard, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. Eduard Prokosch, Bryn Mawr College.  
Rev. Graham Reynolds, Catholic University.  
Miss Ruth E. Robertson, Deputy, Ind.  
Prof. M. Rostovtzeff, University of Wisconsin.  
Dr. Rachel L. Sargent, University of Illinois.  
Prof. Jacob J. Schoenfelder, St. Ambrose College.  
Kenneth Scott, University of Wisconsin.  
Oreon E. Scott, St. Louis, Mo.  
F. C. Shaw, Kansas City, Mo.  
Miss Maria W. Smith, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof. Reuben V. Smith, Capital University.  
John W. Spaeth, Jr., Princeton University.  
Cornelius S. Steinberg, Princeton University.  
Prof. M. W. Sterling, University of Kansas.  
Rev. William M. Stinson, Boston College.  
Rt. Rev. John J. Tannrath, St. Louis, Mo.  
Miss Elizabeth Tappan, Vassar College.  
R. H. B. Thompson, St. Louis, Mo.  
Dr. John B. Titchener, University of Michigan.  
Prof. Otis J. Todd, University of British Columbia.  
Miss Anne R. Waney, St. Louis, Mo.  
Prof. John R. Westbrook, Westminster College.  
Dr. Carol V. Wight, Johns Hopkins University.  
Prof. James H. Woods, Harvard University.  
J. M. Wulfin, St. Louis, Mo.  
Arthur M. Young, Washington and Jefferson College.

The report of the Secretary was accepted and placed on file; and the following report of the Treasurer was then read:

RECEIPTS

Balance, December 15, 1922 . . . . .	\$1446.01
Sales of Transactions and reprints . . . . .	\$ 560.59
Membership dues, annual. . . . .	1991.90
Membership dues, life . . . . .	50.00
Initiation fees. . . . .	450.00
Contributions. . . . .	137.90
Income from Endowment Fund . . . . .	557.15
Interest. . . . .	96.64
Dividends . . . . .	6.00
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast: membership fees . . . . .	190.00
Total receipts to December 15, 1923. . . . .	<u>\$4040.18</u>
	\$5486.19

EXPENDITURES

Reprints of Transactions and Proceedings, Vol. L . . .	\$ 130.52
Salary of Secretary and Treasurer. . . . .	350.00
Printing, addressing, and stationery . . . . .	216.22
Postage. . . . .	172.13
Express and packing. . . . .	26.46
Telegrams . . . . .	8.48
Contribution to the American Council of Learned Societies for 1922 and 1923 . . . . .	83.65
Clerical help . . . . .	168.41
Office supplies. . . . .	43.30
Life membership fee transferred to Endowment Fund .	50.00
Half-tones in Transactions, Vol. LIII . . . . .	22.99
Miscellaneous. . . . .	.75
Total expenditures to December 15, 1923. . . . .	<u>\$1272.91</u> <sup>1</sup>
Balance, December 15, 1923 . . . . .	4213.28
	<u>\$5486.19</u>

The report of the Treasurer was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Chair announced the appointment of the usual committees, as follows:

*To Audit the Treasurer's Accounts:* Professors H. B. Dewing and Clyde Murley.

*On the Place of the Next Meeting:* Professors G. J. Laing, B. L. Ullman, and J. A. Scott.

<sup>1</sup> The unusually small total of expenditures is due to the fact that the bill for *Transactions and Proceedings*, Vol. LIII, which required adjustment, had not been paid. This item will appear in the report for 1924.



*On Resolutions:* Professors K. P. Harrington and E. T. Sage, and Miss E. Adelaide Hahn.

The remainder of the session was devoted to the reading of papers.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF AMERICA

Thursday evening, December 27.

The societies met at 7.15 p.m. at the Graduate College, and dined together in its Hall as the guests of Princeton University, Dean Andrew F. West presiding. About 300 people were present.

After dinner President John Grier Hibben of Princeton University welcomed the societies, and Professor Ralph Van Deman Magoffin of New York University, President of the Institute, responded. A message of greeting from the British classical and archaeological societies was presented by Mr. J. A. B. Wace of the British Museum, former Director of the British School at Athens.

The President of the Association, Professor Edward Kennard Rand, delivered the annual address, on the subject *Illusion and the Ideal*.

SECOND SESSION

Friday morning, December 28.

The Association was called to order by the President at 9.30 o'clock in McCormick Hall. The session was entirely devoted to the reading of papers, and was attended by about 160 people.

THIRD SESSION

Friday afternoon, December 28.

The session was opened at 2.30 p.m. in McCosh Hall, with Professor S. E. Bassett, Vice-President, in the chair, and was entirely devoted to the reading of papers. About 150 people were present.

ROUND TABLE SESSIONS

These sessions were held at 4 p.m. immediately after the adjournment of the general session. The Round Table in

Medieval Latin convened in McCosh Hall, Room 28, with Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Iowa, as Chairman. About 100 people were present. In the course of the session it was unanimously

*Voted*, That the plan for a new dictionary of Medieval Latin presented by Professor C. H. Beeson be heartily endorsed.

The Round Table in Comparative Philology was held in McCosh Hall, Room 24, with Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, as Chairman. It was attended by about 20 people. In the course of this session it was

*Voted*, That the Chairman and Professor Sturtevant constitute a committee, with power to add to their number, to devise ways and means for a repetition of meetings similar to the present one.

## SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE INSTITUTE

Friday evening, December 28.

The societies met in McCosh Hall, Room 10, the President of the Association presiding. The session was devoted to the reading of papers. About 285 people were present.

## FOURTH SESSION

Saturday morning, December 29.

The session was opened at 9.30 A.M. in McCosh Hall, with Professor G. J. Laing, Vice-President, in the chair. The session was devoted to the reading of papers, and was attended by about 150 people.

## FIFTH SESSION

Saturday afternoon, December 29.

The business session of the Association was called to order by the President at 2.30 o'clock in McCosh Hall. About 50 members attended.

The Committee to Audit the Treasurer's Accounts reported as follows:

We have examined these accounts of the Treasurer for 1923, including the vouchers for bills paid and the statement of account in the depository bank, and we find the same correct.

(Signed) Henry B. Dewing }  
Clyde Murley } *Auditors*

December 28, 1923.



The report of the Committee was adopted and placed on file.

The Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting, through its Chairman, Professor Laing, recommended that the Association accept the invitation of the University of Chicago to hold its next meeting on the campus of that institution, December 29-31, 1924, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute. The recommendation was adopted. The committee also mentioned the three following possibilities for the location of the meeting in 1925: Cambridge, Washington, or the campus of a southern university.

The following resolutions, reported by the Committee on Resolutions through Professor Sage, were then adopted:

For the second time within a brief period of years the American Philological Association has been privileged to enjoy the admirable hospitality of Princeton University.

The Association desires to express its grateful appreciation:

To President Hibben and the Trustees of the University for the cordial welcome extended to us, and for the generosity which placed at our disposal the beautiful campus and buildings of the University and entertained us elegantly at dinner.

To Dean West and Mr. W. P. McCulloch, Treasurer of the Princeton Theological Seminary, for our comfortable and convenient accommodations.

To Professor Shirley H. Weber and his able coadjutors on the Committee of Arrangements, Messrs. Smith, Stearns, Stohlman, and Mrs. Nye, for the innumerable plans, successfully carried out, to make our stay in Princeton a continuous pleasure, whether by afternoon teas or other social or intellectual features.

To the management of the Nassau Club for extending to us its many courtesies.

The Association's Representatives on the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, through their Chairman, Professor John C. Kirtland, reported the completion and publication of the work of the Joint Committee, and asked to be discharged. The report was accepted and the Representatives discharged, with an expression of cordial thanks for the service they had rendered. Remarks were made by Professor W. G. Hale, Chairman of the Joint Committee, on the printing and circulation of the Committee's report.

The Committee on Medieval Latin, through its Chairman, Professor B. L. Ullman, reported that the Committee had

maintained contact, during the year, with a similar committee of the Modern Language Association; and had carried out the round table session on Medieval Latin in accordance with instructions received from the Association at its last meeting.

The Nominating Committee, through Professor F. G. Moore, presented the following nominations:

*President*, Professor Samuel Eliot Bassett, University of Vermont.

*Vice-Presidents*, Professor Gordon Jennings Laing, University of Chicago.

Professor Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College.

*Secretary and Treasurer*, Professor Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University.

*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers, and

Professor Tenney Frank, Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College.

Professor Henry W. Prescott, University of Chicago.

Professor Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University.

Professor Berthold L. Ullman, University of Iowa.

*Delegate to the Council of the American Classical League*, Professor Henry W. Prescott.

*Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies*, Professor Edward Kennard Rand.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the election of these officers.

The President announced the appointment of Professor Francis Greenleaf Allinson as a member of the Nominating Committee.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee the following resolutions were adopted:

*Voted*, That the amendment to the Constitution providing for an increase in dues (Vol. LI, p. xii) be laid on the table for another year.

*Voted*, That the appointment of the Association's delegate to the Council of the American Classical League be hereafter referred to the Executive Committee with power.

*Voted*, That the salary of the Secretary be fixed at \$750, to include any outlay for clerical help; and that the expenses of the Secretary in attending the annual meeting be paid by the Association.

Then followed the adoption of the following resolution, presented by Professor E. T. Sage:

*Resolved*, That the President of the American Philological Association be authorized to coöperate with the Presidents of the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Classical League in arranging for closer relations, by correspondence or otherwise, as may prove practicable, with philological



and archaeological societies of Great Britain, provided such arrangements do not entail expense to the American Philological Association.

The President appointed Professor W. P. Mustard of Johns Hopkins University to act for the Association in the matters involved in the foregoing resolution.

On motion of Professor F. G. Moore it was

*Voted*, That the Chair appoint a committee to ascertain and report the locations of the best book collections in the various divisions of classical study, the divisions of the field inadequately covered by American libraries at present, and the topics in which individual libraries can be counted upon to specialize or continue to specialize in their future acquisitions.

The Committee was appointed as follows: Professors H. B. Van Hoesen (Chairman), C. H. Beeson, A. M. Harmon, D. P. Lockwood, C. H. Moore, and Dr. E. S. McCartney.

Professor W. K. Prentice, a delegate of the Association to the American Council of Learned Societies, made a brief report on the activities of that organization.

The remainder of the session was devoted to the reading of papers.

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The total number of members present at the meeting was 218.

### III. ABSTRACTS

1. *Imprints of the Heroides on the Legend of Good Women*,  
by Willard Connely, Harvard University.

To read Chaucer's prologue to the *Legend* is to see at once that to placate his women readers he had only to draw on his knowledge of Ovid. Not only was Chaucer's keel ready laid, but most of the ribs were attached. What easier than to apply a little mediaeval English calk and oakum to the Roman timber? Of the twenty legends Chaucer planned, the first and last only, Cleopatra and Alcestis, are independent of Ovid. The stories Chaucer projected but never wrote were: Deianira, Hermione, Hero, Helen, Briseis, Laodamia, Penelope, Polyxena, and either Lavinia or Oenone. Heroines of Ovid's *Epistles* are the first seven, also Oenone, while *Met.* XIII embodies Polyxena and *Fasti*, III includes the Lavinia incident. I submit that the English author would have continued to use Ovid for these legends had he finished his poem. This theory would appear plausible when we observe that in the existing fragment not only are Thisbe and Philomela from the *Metamorphoses*, while Lucretia more than smacks of *Fasti*, II, but, wholly or in part, Dido, Hypsipyle, Medea, Ariadne, Phyllis, and Hypermnestra are directly transplanted from the *Heroides*.

Examining the *Epistles* and the *Legend* in detail, I show how the *Heroides* dominated Chaucer's scheme, not neglecting, however, the contributions of Virgil in such narratives as the Dido legend. In the discussion of differences between the Latin and the English methods the matter of viewpoint enters: while the *Heroides* accuse, being personal and being written after the fact of desertion, the *Legends* narrate simply, and are seldom vocative. I further note Chaucer's propensity to choose vivid lines from special portions, such as Ovid's luminous beginnings to the *Heroides*, and to append these bits as envoys to the *Legends*.

2. *Lucian and the Art of Medicine*, by Professor H. Lamar Crosby, University of Pennsylvania.

Medical allusions are remarkably frequent in most Greek writings from Homer onward, yet no Greek addressing the general public on non-professional themes exhibits such fondness for topics of this description as Lucian. References to ailments include biliousness, catarrh, chills and fever, consumption, dropsy, faulty



vision, gangrene, gout, headache, hydrophobia, madness of many sorts, mortification resulting from snake-bite or exposure to cold, pleurisy, pneumonia, strangury, and suppression of the menses. Medical terminology covering a wide range of subjects is employed and considerable attention is given to the theory of disease, of prophylaxis and therapeusis. Medical practitioners, both charlatans and men of good standing, are often referred to and not infrequently are included in his *dramatis personae*. The correct attitude of the physician toward his patient and his calling is set forth.

Much of this material either occurs not at all in earlier Greek writings or is to be met only in such as are professedly scientific in their purpose. What is the explanation of Lucian's interest? Is it due to a greater prevalence of disease among the Greeks of his day, to the development of scientific medicine and the consequent elevation of the physician in popular esteem, or to something peculiar to Lucian? His interest in eye-diseases may have been due to personal experience. There is a tradition that he was a victim of gout. If the tradition be genuine, it might account for the otherwise surprising prominence given that disease, but it is not impossible that Lucian's *Tragodopodagra* and *Ocypus* are themselves the foundation of the tale. Certain clues point to the possibility of at least a partial explanation of his medical interest in his Syrian birth and rearing.

3. *Ecce iterum Archytam*, by Professor Ernest A. Dale, University of Toronto.

The most hopeful solution of the problems of Horace, *Odes*, I, 28 is not to be found in any theory at present promulgated with a view to a consistent and plausible interpretation of the poem as it stands. It must be divided into two parts, each forming an independent epigram of the funerary type presumably on a Greek model. A division at line 20, which makes the second poem begin *tu quoque*, was proposed by E. A. Nairn in *Class. Rev.* XI (1897). This is adopted in the editions of Prof. C. E. Bennett. It occurred to me to divide at line 16, beginning B with *dant alios*. In this idea I found I had been anticipated by C. Bulle in *Philol.* LVII (1898). Poem A is an epigram in tombstone style, in a tone of somewhat grim jocularity. "You, Archytas, for all the wanderings of your bold spirit, are dead, and buried in a narrow space." Poem B (an epigram purporting to be for inscription on a cenotaph) is one of terrible and pathetic tone: a disembodied spirit implores a



passing sailor to bury his dead body. As against the division at line 20, the abruptness of the beginning of B is a serious objection, and so also is the inappropriateness of the end of A. The beginning *dant alios . . . me quoque* is quite normal and natural. As against the other solutions, we must note that the oldest commentator Porphyrio offers an untenable position; that Horace is clearly making use of two Greek epigrams; and that it is much more probable that two successive poems in an unusual metre on a similar subject were once unskilfully joined, than that Horace wrote so inartistic, so incoherent, so obscure a poem as the present undivided ode.

4. *Cicero's Orator and Horace's Ars Poetica*, by Dr. Mary A. Grant, University of Kansas, and Professor George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin.

The paper represents a collaborative investigation, in which the collation of material was mainly the work of Miss Grant, the arrangement and conclusions that of Mr. Fiske.

The paper sought to establish certain cross relations which in content and argument connect the *Orator* with the *Ars Poetica*.

It analyzed the doctrine of decorum (*τὸ πρέπον*) which pervades the structure of the *Ars Poetica*.

An attempt was made to differentiate between *τὸ πρέπον τὸ κατὰ σοφίαν* and *τὸ πρέπον τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον πρόσωπον καὶ πράγμα*; and to interpret thereby *A. P.* 1-37.

*A. P.* 38-41 and *Or.* 44-49 emphasize *iudicium* in the treatment of *inventio*. *Ordo* is treated by Horace, 42-44; by Cicero, 50. Under the complicated rubric of *elocutio* (*A. P.* 45-118), the *ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων* (*ib.* 45-72) harmonizes with Cicero, 134, 149-164. The parallelisms and diversities between Cicero's treatment of rhythmic prose (140-148, 164-167) and Horace, 73-85, were analyzed. Also the relation between Horace, 250-272, and Cicero, 174-236.

It was argued that lines 86-111 of Horace are pervaded by the conception of *actio*. Compare the *Or.* 54-60.

The paper then discussed the supplementary doctrines of *ἦθος* and *πάθος* in *Or.* 128-133 and in the *A. P.* 114-118, 156-178.

Finally the investigation, which concluded with *A. P.* 295, endeavored to show that though Horace occasionally took short flights in the medium of the grand style, he was temperamentally distrustful of that style. Moreover, the fact that he had worked so long in the field of the *sermo* tended to make him sympathetic



with the ideal of the *tenuis poeta*, rather than with that of the *demens poeta*. Nevertheless, the long section on the satyr drama seems to imply that Horace was not unsympathetic with the somewhat unstable equilibrium of the eclectic middle style, and approved at least theoretically of Cicero's dictum (100-112) that the perfect orator must command all styles.

5. *Against Interpreting "invidisse deos," Aeneid, XI, 269, as an Exclamation*, by E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College.

There are three main views:—

1. That *invidisse* is an infinitive of exclamation. So Heyne and Conington.

2. That *invidisse* is an infinitive in indirect discourse, depending (like the nouns in lines 264-265) on *referam* in line 264, lines 266-268 being out of place. Wagner thinks they were added as an after-thought; Ribbeck transposes them to a place before line 264.

3. That *invidisse* is an infinitive in indirect discourse, depending on *referam*, despite the interposition of lines 266-268. This is apparently the view of Hirtzel, and is supported by these facts:—

a. Vergilian examples abound for the coupling of a noun in the accusative and an infinitive in indirect discourse.

b. The tone of the passage forbids an exclamation. (So Wagner; the passages cited by Conington are not true parallels.) Diomedes' mood is demonstrative or judicial, not emotional. He has no cause to reproach the gods, since others are much more wretched than he.

c. Transposition would vitiate the march of the thought. 266-268 elaborate on 264-265, and form a climax thereto: the *less important* men, who lost merely their *kingdoms*, are contrasted with the *more important* man, who lost even his *life*. Similarly 271-274 form a contrast with, and climax to, 269-270: since only Diomedes, the speaker, is directly concerned, there is no question of loss of life, but Diomedes' *earlier* catastrophe, the loss of merely his *kingdom*, is contrasted with his *later* catastrophe, the loss of even his *comrades and allies*.

The idea is:—"Shall I recall the case of Neoptolemus, Idomeneus, the Locrians?—This is unnecessary. Even *Agamemnon* himself was slain!—Shall I recall the gods' *having* (in the past) grudged me a safe return? This is unnecessary. Even *now* evil omens pursue me, and my comrades perish!"

6. *On the Interpretation of Georgics, I, 201-203*, by E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College.

I think this means: 'non aliter quam is sublapsus refertur, qui adverso vix flumine lembum remigiis subigit (si bracchia forte remisit), atque quem in praeceps pronò rapit alveus amni.' (Vergil often uses a demonstrative after a relative in a different case, not a second relative.)

The *si*-clause belongs rather with *rapit* than with *subigit*. Vergil might have written merely lines 201-202. He added another line, yet left the two preceding ones unchanged, violating logic, as often.

Kennedy paraphrases: 'non aliter quam (fit) si forte (is) qui—lembum—subigit, bracchia remisit, atque illum (lembum)—pronò rapit alveus amni.' He (1) subordinates *qui*-clause to *si*-clause, not *si*-clause to *qui*-clause; (2) refers *illum* to boat, not rower; (3) couples *rapit* with *remisit*, not *subigit*.

1. Conington disagrees, making *qui—subigit* subject not of *remisit* but of *retro sublapsus refertur*, which he supplies instead of *fit*. This is more logical: Kennedy implies that if the man stops rowing, *everything* goes backward.

2. Page agrees that *illum* means the boat, since *alveus* cannot (as the boat has been called *lembus*). But even if *illum* means the rower, *alveus* may mean the channel, which carries him indirectly (cf. *Aeneid*, VIII, 57). Conington also agrees, comparing Catullus, 65, 23, where *illud* is contrasted with *huic*. But *huic* has not a parallel in Vergil. *Quod* (21), however, has *qui* (201). *Quod* and *illud* refer to the same object (the apple); so must *qui* and *illum* (the rower), if the parallelism counts at all.

3. *Subigit* (present) is a better coördinate for *rapit* than *remisit* (perfect). Also, two coördinate *si*-clauses, the first verb (*remisit*) having the same subject as the main verb (*subigit*), and the second (*rapit*) a different subject (*alveus*), would produce an effect of jerkiness unlike Vergil and especially out of place here.

7. *Συνήγορία and συκοφαντία*, by Professor J. O. Lofberg, Queen's University, Kingston.

An able litigant like Apollodorus would naturally be in demand as *συνήγορος*. It is however puzzling to account for his serving in that capacity in the case of *Theomnestus vs. Neaera and Stephanus* (Dem. 59), which, as the reader soon discovers, was a retaliatory attack upon Stephanus for alleged persecution of Apollodorus. Internal evidence (16, 121, 125) justifies us in assuming,



as do Schaefer (*Dem. und s. Zeit*, III, 2, 184) and others, that the case had really been prepared by Apollodorus. Why then was this self-reliant πολυπράγμων hiding behind his "young and inexperienced" son-in-law, Theomnestus, whom he had, as Blass (*Attische Beredsamkeit*, III, 1, 536) puts it, "als formellen Anklager vorgeschoben?" Can it be that he was disqualified to introduce a γραφή? If, in spite of Schaefer (*op. cit.*), we may believe the somewhat garbled charge of section 5, Apollodorus had been a debtor to the state treasury for some 25 years at the time of his motion affecting the disposition of the Theoric Fund. Is it possible that he had failed, early in his litigious career, to receive τὸ πεμπτόν in his ἀπογραφή vs. Nicostratus (Dem. 53), and had neglected to pay the resulting fine? A more serious result of the loss of τὸ πεμπτόν was of course the inability ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γράψασθαι (Dem. 53, 1). Our sources seem to be silent on the question whether one so disqualified was also excluded from service as συνήγορος. If there was no specific regulation on that point, and, as is most likely, the matter was left entirely to chance and the cleverness of the opposing side, we can be sure that professional sycophants hired themselves out for such service, even when they were disqualified from introducing γραφαί in their own right. Such service would be fully as effective as any they could render as agents, since they might very well be, as Apollodorus was, prosecutors in all but name.

8. *The Monsters of the Steppes*, by Dr. Clarence Augustus Manning, Columbia University.

The classical tradition which placed in the region north of the Black Sea the home of the griffons is based undoubtedly on the tales of the mysterious animals represented everywhere among the Scythians and allied peoples. The archaeological excavations which have been carried on in South Russia have yielded large numbers of representations of these fusions of animals and birds, which seem to have been used for many different purposes. It is not only among the Scythians and in the region of the steppes that we find these figures, but they extend northward into the Finnish area of the forests and in point of time they extend for more than a millennium. There can be little doubt that the monsters of the Russian byliny, as Nightingale the Robber and Tugarin the Serpent's Son, are but another form of these same monsters who lived on in the East of Europe regardless of the rise and fall of cultures and of empires.



9. *The Revolt of Chalcidice*, by Benjamin D. Meritt, University of Vermont.

The tribute lists, preserved as *I. G.* 1, 226-260, give evidence of the extent of the revolt of Chalcidice and Bottice in 432/431 mentioned by Thucydides, 1, 58. The proposition was laid down by Dr. Allen West that a city in the Macedonian peninsula which had, up till 432/431, shown a consistent record of payment, and which after 432/431 disappeared from the tribute lists, may be considered as one of the revolting states. Since the redating of these inscriptions by Fimmen (*Ath. Mitt.* 1913), it has become possible to define exactly the area of the revolt. Even the fragmentary parts of the important inscriptions can be restored for the significant years, and the territory of Bottice and Chalcidice is seen to extend from Smilla, south of Aenea, around to Assera on the Singitic gulf (Pallene excepted). The northern boundary for these peoples was the mountain range from Karaburnu to Nizvoru.

Xenophon's *Hellenica*, v, 3, 1-2, gives conclusive evidence against the contention of West and Beloch that there was no city named Apollonia south of the mountains mentioned. This city, near the modern Polygiro, was Chalcidic in origin, founded by the Chalcidians who returned from voluntary exile after the Peloponnesian War. The location of this city, along with the discovery of a boundary stone west of modern Portaria, shows that the valley of the Retsitnik River was Chalcidic at the time of the Peloponnesian War. The boundary between Bottice and Chalcidice ran north and south, west of the river in 432 B.C., and east of the river in 480 B.C.

10. *A Supposed Historical Discrepancy in the Platonic Epistles*, by Professor L. A. Post, Haverford College.

The proposal in the eighth Platonic Epistle to make a son of Dion king at Syracuse has been strongly urged as an objection to the genuineness of the letter. According to the historical tradition as found in Plutarch and Diodorus, Dion's only son had committed suicide shortly before his father's assassination by Callippus in 353. The eighth Epistle was not written until 352, for it refers to the expulsion of Callippus by Dion's nephew Hipparinus, and Callippus ruled Syracuse for thirteen months. It is incredible that Plato should not have known the fate of Dion's son and equally incredible that the historians should be misinformed.



A very simple solution of the difficulty is to be found. A posthumous son of Dion was born to his wife Arete in a Syracusan prison and was rescued by the nephew Hipparinus. We have here a natural explanation of the silence of the seventh Epistle about a son, for the child's existence became known only later. That this nameless infant did actually come to represent Dion is proved by the fact that Hicetas of Leontini saw fit to murder him shortly afterward, as stated twice by Plutarch. The language of the reference to Dion's son in the eighth Epistle fits perfectly the supposition that he had neither name nor fame apart from his ancestry.

The only serious objection to this view lies in a statement made in *Epist.* 8 (357 C). This passage is, however, not so decisive as it has been supposed to be. It can be interpreted to fit the view advocated, without violence to probability. Since the eighth Epistle has strong claims to be considered genuine on grounds of style, the removal of the objection to it based on this supposed historical discrepancy leaves no solid ground for attacking its authenticity.

11. *The Order of Ovid's Works*, by Professor Robert S. Radford, University of Richmond.

[Tibullus], iv has 47.4 per cent of dactyls for the distich. The great *Priapea* is more advanced, with 49.6 per cent of dactyls and almost no elision, while the apparent percentage in the first edition of the *Amores* is 50.8 per cent. We are now able for the first time to assign their proper order among Ovid's works to the six double Epistles (*Her.* 16-21), which are separated from the *Heroides* proper by innumerable minor metrical differences. Like the *Priapea*, they still show a few polysyllabic pentameter closes and also a weak virtuosity. Thus *Her.* 20 and 21 (Acontius and Cydippe) reach only 52.1 per cent of dactyls, in comparison with a percentage of 58.9 for the later *Epistles* (1-15). The *Consolatio*, undoubtedly a genuine work of 9 B.C., is a brilliant but uneven experiment. It rises to 53.5 per cent of dactyls, but it shows many retarding elisions and five cases of inferior caesurae. The following year, 8 B.C., saw the production of the well-nigh perfect *Maecenas*, which slips back to 49.1 per cent of dactyls, but is faultless in elision, caesura, and pentameter closes.

The four perfected masterpieces—*Heroides*, 1-15, the second *Amores*, the *Ars*, and the *Remedia*—as is evident alike from their metrical composition and from Ovid's own well-known statement (*Am.* II, 18, 19-26), all fall closely together and are all subsequent



to 5 or 6 B.C. A substantially correct account of the chronology of these flawless works, which reach the zenith of Roman art, is given by Jacoby (*Rh. Mus.* 1905, p. 71) and by Schanz (II, 1<sup>3</sup>, § 293). Contrary to the view of Rand (*A. J. P.* 1907, p. 292), the epilogue of the *Amores* (III, 15) is a paean of triumph at the completion of the perfected second edition, and the reference to Bacchus (vs. 17) is clearly to the later Augustan god of poetic composition in general (cf. *Trist.* v, 3).

12. *Improvement of Resources in American Libraries for the Study of Classics and Archaeology*, by Professor Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Princeton University.

Two of the great handicaps of research in America are lack of resources in books and lack of information as to where such resources as we have are available. Various efforts have been made to improve this situation, by the printed union lists and censuses of certain classes of books, *e.g.*, periodicals, incunabula, etc., by union card catalogues, such as that at Brussels, and by surveys, best exemplified by Johnston and Mudge's "Special Collections in American Libraries" (*Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education*, 1912, no. 23, whole no. 95).

The union lists are limited in scope and ephemeral. An American union card catalogue is at present impracticable because of lack of agreement as to cataloguing method and inability of many libraries to coöperate. The survey method before now has suffered from the limitations of the questionnaire method and from the fact that questionnaires were addressed to librarians. The present proposal, that various professional and learned associations should undertake surveys in the various fields, since their members have the necessary specialized knowledge, was initiated by Prof. James Thayer Gerould, librarian of Princeton University. This is being sponsored by a committee of the American Library Association and has been presented to some dozen other associations. Such a survey should indicate what libraries approach completeness on certain topics or certain classical authors, or have nuclei for exhaustive collections, and should lead to an organization of specialized purchase on the part of libraries. We all buy first, and must continue to buy first, books that are in frequent and active demand, but such an organization should make it possible, by avoiding duplication of less used books in neighboring libraries, to devote a certain amount of funds to intensive collection on special topics in which a given library is already strong.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For action taken by the Association in this matter see p. xiv.



# PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

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## I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30

FIRST SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK A.M.

E. K. HELLER

Studies upon the Legend of Sir Gawain in Wolfram and  
Crestien (first part)

JEFFERSON ELMORE

Legal Competency in the XII Tables

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY

Some Anomalous Uses of *Ser* and *Estar*

MATHURIN DONDO

Esoterism in the Poetry of the Troubadours

STANLEY I. RYPINS

Sam Johnson, Lexicographer

L. J. PAETOW

Latin in the Middle Ages

SECOND SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

CLIFFORD G. ALLEN

Cervantes and his Time:

Annual Address of the President of the Association

E. C. HILLS

Some Types of Metre in Romance Verse

ELLA BOURNE

The Mediaeval Wanderings of a Greek Myth

RICHARD T. HOLBROOK

Tense-Values in French and Other Languages: A Scientific  
Nomenclature and a New Analysis of Certain Functions

CLAIR HAYDEN BELL

*Meier-Helmbrecht*, 1251 <sup>1</sup>

LAWRENCE M. RIDDLE

The Genesis and Sources of P. Corneille's *Horace*

ALLISON GAW

Excerpts from a Study of the Evolution of *A Comedy of  
Errors*

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1

THIRD SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.

English Dipodic Verse

ERWIN GUSTAV GUDDE

Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus* as a Probable  
Source of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*

LOUIS WANN

The Rôle of Confidant(e) in Renaissance Epic

HERBERT D. AUSTIN

"God's Vengeance Fears Not Sops" (Dante's *Divine Comedy*,  
Purg. xxxiii, 36)

IVAN M. LINFORTH

Herodotus' Avowal of Silence in his Account of Egypt <sup>2</sup>

ROBERT MAX GARRETT

The Lay of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

FOURTH SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

ALEXANDER KAUN

Tolstoy and Andreyev

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> To be published in the *University of California Publications, Classical  
Philology*.



WILLARD FARNHAM

Chaucer, Lydgate and Elizabethan Poesy

EDWARD A. WICHER

The Parable as a Form of Literature (p. xxix)

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

The Relation of the *Faerie Queen* to the *Nicomachean Ethics*

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The Structural Problem of the Short Story

F. SCHNEIDER

German Literature in Spain from 1800–1875 as Reflected in  
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## II. MINUTES

The Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in the Assembly Hall of the Public Library, San Francisco, November 30 and December 1, 1923. President C. G. Allen presided at the first, third, and fourth sessions, and Vice-President A. P. McKinlay at the second. The following business was transacted:

The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association and in the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association.

The Treasurer made the following report for the year 1922-1923:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand Dec. 7, 1922 . . . . .	\$247.53
Interest . . . . .	4.38
Dues. . . . .	693.11
	<hr/>
	\$945.02
EXPENDITURES	
Hotel Bellevue (room for 1922 meeting) . . . . .	\$ 12.50
University Club. . . . .	10.00
Printing and mimeographing . . . . .	95.65
Postage and stationery. . . . .	19.43
Dues to American Philological Association . . . . .	187.00
Dues to Modern Language Association. . . . .	349.87
Balance on hand Nov. 30, 1923 . . . . .	270.57
	<hr/>
	\$945.02

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The appointment of the following committees was announced by the President:

*Nominating:* Professors Johnston (1 year), Nutting (2 years), Murray (3 years).

*Auditing:* Professors Morley, Garrett, Briois.

*Social:* Professors Hills, Richardson, Schwartz.

The Secretary's report consisted of statistics of membership and the notice of the election of 20 new members.



The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts of the Treasurer were correct and in order. The report was accepted and approved.

The following resolution, prepared by a subcommittee of the Executive Committee, was adopted unanimously:

Whereas, The Central Division of the Modern Language Association, at its meeting held last Christmas, adopted a resolution proposing a reorganization of the Modern Language Association providing for two coördinate and autonomous divisions, and

Whereas, In the judgment of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, an organization affiliated with the Modern Language Association and containing over one hundred members of that body, the adoption of the above resolution would be extremely ill-advised; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast is hereby instructed to communicate this expression of opinion to the Secretary of the Modern Language Association, and to express the hope that means may be found to solve any existent difficulties in such a way that the unity and national character of the Modern Language Association may not be impaired.

On motion a vote of thanks was extended to the Librarian for the hospitality of the Public Library, and to the Directors of the University Club for permission to hold the annual smoker at the Club. The Treasurer was also authorized to pay \$10.00 to the Christmas fund of the waiters of the Club.

The report of the Nominating Committee was read and accepted, and by vote the ballot of the Association was cast for the following officers for the coming year:

*President*, Arthur P. McKinlay.

*Vice-Presidents*, Raymond M. Alden, Clarence Paschall.

*Secretary*, Arthur G. Kennedy.

*Treasurer*, William L. Schwartz.

*Executive Committee*, the above-named officers and Rudolph Schevill, Ivan M. Linforth, Edward A. Wicher, and E. Whitney Martin.

The attendance at the four meetings was, respectively, 50, 64, 37, and 45.

### III. ABSTRACTS

*The Parable as a Form of Literature*, by Professor Edward Arthur Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary.

Jesus undoubtedly spoke his discourses in the Aramaic language, and used the word  $\text{ܡܫܠ}$ , which is translated  $\text{παροβολή}$ , 'parable,' and also 'proverb.' In the Hebrew the Book of Proverbs is  $\text{מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה}$ . Thus the wider sense of the word has passed into the Greek  $\text{παροβολή}$ , as in Luke, 4:23.

There are no parables in the Fourth Gospel, the word which is so rendered in John, 10:6 being  $\text{παροιμία}$ .

The etymological sense of the word will not carry us far in our effort to determine its meaning, and we shall find it necessary first to make a careful induction of all the parables of the New Testament, and then to lay side by side with these the Jewish parables found in the *Talmud* and elsewhere.

The parable differs from the allegory in that the former has only one main point of likeness between the symbolic story and the thing symbolized, while the latter may have several points. For the very reason that the allegory demands a sustained symbolism it was unsuitable to the uses of Hebrew literature. The Hebrew genius was sententious rather than sustained.

The German poet Lessing identified the parable and the fable, but these two forms of literature should be distinguished. The deeper difference lies in the diversity of their moral influence. Animals and plants are never represented in the parable as speaking. Nothing can be represented in the parable as occurring unless it has occurred, or is, at least, possible of occurrence. Lessing himself forbade the play of poetic fancy or human sympathy in the treatment of the theme of a fable, but the wonder and glory of the parables of Jesus are their beauty, their human passion, and their unfolding of the yearning of the heart of God.



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD<sup>1</sup>

FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR 1923

## PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.—Art and Archaeology.  
 A.H.R.—American Historical Review.  
 A.J.A.—American Journal of Archaeology  
 A.J.P.—American Journal of Philology.  
 Am.—American.  
 B.—Bulletin.  
 Cal. Chr.—University of California Chronicle.  
 C.J.—Classical Journal.  
 C.P.—Classical Philology.  
 C.Q.—Classical Quarterly.  
 C.R.—Classical Review.  
 C.W.—Classical Weekly.  
 E.R.—Educational Review.  
 H.S.C.P.—Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.  
 J.—Journal.  
 J.A.O.S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
 J.E.G.P.—Journal of English and Germanic Philology.

J.H.S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
 L.C.L.—Loeb Classical Library.  
 M.—Magazine.  
 M.L.A.—Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.  
 M.L.N.—Modern Language Notes.  
 M.P.—Modern Philology.  
 Nat.—Nation.  
 N.I.Y.B.—New International Year Book.  
 P.A.P.A.—Proceedings of the American Philological Association.  
 P.Q.—Philological Quarterly.  
 Pr.—Press.  
 Qu.—Quarterly.  
 Rev.—Review.  
 Rom.R.—Romanic Review.  
 S.P.—Studies in Philology.  
 S.S.—School and Society.  
 T.A.P.A.—Transactions of the American Philological Association.  
 U.—University.

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Miss Edith Bailie Aiton, 1415 W. 4th St., Santa Ana, Cal. 1924.  
Miss Miriam C. Akers, Denison University, Granville, O. 1922.  
Dean Francis Asbury Alabaster, Nebraska Wesleyan University, University Place, Nebr. 1921.  
\*Prof. Raymond M. Alden, Stanford University, Cal. 1914.  
\*Bernard M. Allen, Cheshire, Conn. 1921.  
Prof. Hamilton Ford Allen, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N. H. 1903.  
Harold Douglass Allen, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa. (5221 Archer St.). 1920.  
Prof. James T. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (37 Mosswood Rd.). 1898.  
\*Miss Jessie E. Allen, Girls' High School, 17th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
Prof. Katharine Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (228 Langdon St.). 1899.  
Prof. May Alice Allen, Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1920.  
\*William Henry Allen, 3413 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.  
Dr. Anne C. E. Allinson, 163 George St., Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1920.  
\*Prof. Francis G. Allinson, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (163 George St.). Life member. 1893.

<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to June 30, 1924. The Secretary begs to be kept informed of all changes of address. Names marked with an asterisk are those of members who attended the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting, held in Princeton, N. J., in December, 1923.



- Prof. Clara Janet Allison, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1921.
- \*Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1905.
- Dr. Florence Mary Bennett Anderson (Mrs. L. F.), 364 Boyer Ave., Walla Walla, Wash. (Life member). 1910.
- Prof. Frederick Anderson, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 1138). 1923.
- Vice-Pres. Louis Francis Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. (364 Boyer Ave.). 1887.
- \*George Allison Armour, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. Mary E. Armstrong, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1921.
- Prof. William G. Aurelio, Boston University, Boston, Mass. (102 Charles St.). 1903.
- Prof. James Curtiss Austin, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1921.
- Maurice W. Avery, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (17 Thomas St.). 1922.
- Prof. Harold L. Axtell, University of Idaho, Moscow, Ida. 1922.
- Pres. Frank Aydelotte, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. C. C. Ayer, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1902.
- \*Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (65 Vernon St.). 1897.
- Prof. Earle Brownell Babcock, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Dean William Frederic Badé, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. (2616 College Ave.). 1903.
- Prof. Joanna Baker, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1923.
- Dr. Lawrence Henry Baker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1920.
- John B. Baldwin, care of Capt. G. P. Baldwin, 35th Infantry, Schofield Barracks, Territory of Hawaii. 1922.
- Hon. Simeon D. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1922.
- \*Prof. Allan P. Ball, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1905.
- Dr. Francis K. Ball, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1894.
- \*Prof. Floyd G. Ballentine, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. Susan H. Ballou, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.
- Cecil K. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1898.
- Miss Edith Bancroft, 25 Sanborn St., Reading, Mass. 1921.
- Prof. Amy L. Barbour, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (234 Crescent St.). 1902.
- \*Prof. LeRoy C. Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1906.
- Sister M. Inviolata Barry, Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio, Tex. 1924.
- J. Edmund Barss, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn. 1897.
- Prof. George Lloyd Barton, Jr., Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. (Drawer 925). 1919.
- Prof. Herbert J. Barton, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1907.
- \*Prof. John W. Basore, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.
- Prof. Henry Jewell Bassett, Evansville College, Evansville, Ind. 1919.
- \*Prof. Samuel Eliot Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1903.

- \*Prof. William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (220 St. Mark's Square). 1894.
- Prof. William J. Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. (Life member). 1893.
- \*Prof. Paul V. C. Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (166 Edgehill Rd.). 1902.
- John W. Beach, 149 Calumet Ave., Aurora, Ill. 1902.
- George H. Beal, 138 West 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. Edward A. Bechtel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1900.
- Edith A. Beck, 3 Maple Ave., Haverhill, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, Hartford, Conn. 1884.
- \*Prof. Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1228 E. 56th St.). 1897.
- \*Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, Westhampton College, Richmond, Va. 1912.
- \*Alfred Raymond Bellinger, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (1406 Yale Station). 1920.
- \*Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
- Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. Harold Bennett, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. 1921.
- Capt. Paul Benrimo, Marion Institute, Marion, Ala. 1921.
- Miss M. Julia Bentley, Hughes High School, Cincinnati, O. (3517 Middleton Ave.). 1920.
- Frank May Benton, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Johnson Hall). 1919.
- Prof. George O. Berg, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1909.
- Pierre Arnold Bernard, Nyack, N. Y. 1913.
- Miss Emma L. Berry, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. Lillian G. Berry, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1916.
- Prof. William E. Berry, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia. 1924.
- Prof. Louis Bevier, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1884.
- Dr. John Dean Bickford, Culver Military Academy, Culver, Ind. 1920.
- \*Prof. Clarence P. Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1894.
- \*Prof. Albert Billheimer, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1912.
- Prof. Arthur Vaughan Bishop, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. (333 Dudley Ave.). 1917.
- Prof. Charles Edward Bishop, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1890.
- Prof. Elizabeth L. Bishop, Western College for Women, Oxford, O. 1919.
- Mrs. Mary Leal Harkness Black, Panora, Ia. 1921.
- George Horace Blake, New Hampshire State College, Durham, N. H. 1922.
- Mr. Warren E. Blake, 38 Carleton St., Newton, Mass. 1922.
- Dr. Carl W. Blegen, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. (Life member). 1920.
- Prof. Leonard Bloomfield, 2061 Fairfax Rd., Upper Arlington, Columbus, O. 1914.
- \*Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1882.



- Dr. G. Alder Blumer, 196 Blackstone Boul., Providence, R. I. 1921.  
Prof. A. E. R. Boak, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member).  
1920.  
Prof. Willis H. Bocock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.  
Sister Mary Paschal Boillot, Dominican College, San Rafael, Cal. 1921.  
Prof. George M. Bolling, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1897.  
Prof. Alexander L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.  
1892.  
Prof. Arthur Bonner, College of the Pacific, San José, Cal. 1923.  
Prof. Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1025  
Martin Pl.). Life member. 1899.  
Prof. Robert J. Bonner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1911.  
Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College of Western Reserve Uni-  
versity, Cleveland, O. 1900.  
Prof. Ella Bourne, Mills College, Cal. 1916.  
Prof. Edwin W. Bowen, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1905.  
M. J. Boyer, 603 N. 6th St., Allentown, Pa. 1921.  
Miss Florence C. Brachman, 8439 Germantown Ave., Chestnut Hill, Phila-  
delphia, Pa. 1921.  
Prof. Haven D. Brackett, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. 1905.  
\*Dr. Mary Victoria Braginton, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.  
1922.  
Dr. Joseph Granger Brandt, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 1916.  
\*Dr. Alice F. Braunlich, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (2819 Guilford Ave.).  
1916.  
Charles Henry Breed, Box 32, East Providence, R. I. 1915.  
Prof. George Sidney Brett, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1920.  
Rev. William A. Brewer, 728 Fairfield Rd., Burlingame, Cal. 1922.  
\*Prof. Ethel Hampson Brewster, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Life  
member). 1914.  
Frank Brewster, 75 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1920.  
\*Miss M. Gertrude Bricker, 4723 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
John Bridge, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1923.  
\*Dr. Josiah Bridge, Simsbury, Conn. 1921.  
Prof. Anna Brinton (Mrs. Howard H.), Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. 1912.  
Louis F. D. Briois, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1923.  
Miss Helen Virginia Broe, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.  
Miss Cornelia P. Brossard, Soldan High School, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
\*Dr. Blanche M. E. Brotherton, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.  
1921.  
C. G. Brouzas, A.M., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1922.  
\*Dr. Carroll N. Brown, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.  
(Riverdale-on-Hudson). 1908.  
Charles Barrett Brown, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
Dr. Lester Dorman Brown, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1904.  
Prof. Ruth W. Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.  
1912.

- Mrs. Timothy Brown, 116 E. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 1920.
- Dr. William Norman Brown, Prince of Wales College, Jammu (Tarvi), Jammu State, India. 1921.
- Prof. Carleton L. Brownson, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Joseph Brunet, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 1185). 1924.
- \*Dr. W. R. Bryan, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. Arthur Alexis Bryant, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- \*Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, 9, Mass. 1897.
- Dr. Theodore A. Buenger, 655 Garland Ave., Winnetka, Ill. 1915.
- Frank S. Bunnell, 251 Washington St., Norwich, Conn. 1921.
- Dr. Mary C. Burchinall, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Paul H. Burg, 3831 Cleveland Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Prof. Edmund Burke, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. Robert B. Burke, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1921.
- Prof. William S. Burrage, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1898.
- Dr. Eli E. Burriess, Washington Square College, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*Prof. Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.
- Miss Nita L. Butler, 202 S. Thayer St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1922.
- Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1109 Forest Ave.). Life member. 1907.
- Miss Hilda Bittenwieser, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1921.
- Miss Alice Hill Byrne, Western College, Oxford, O. 1921.
- Sister Marie José Byrne, College of St. Elizabeth, Convent, N. J. 1921.
- Prof. Alva J. Calderwood, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1917.
- Prof. George M. Calhoun, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (581 Euclid Ave.). 1911.
- Prof. T. Callander, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1919.
- \*Prof. Donald Cameron, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1905.
- Dr. James Marshall Campbell, Sulpician Seminary, Brookland, D. C. 1923.
- Miss Mary E. Campbell, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1922.
- Miss Helen Campion, 800 Logan St., Denver, Colo. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. Charles B. Cannaday, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1922.
- Prof. Howard Vernon Canter, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (Champaign Ill.). 1921.
- Harry Caplan, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (Goldwin Smith Hall, 25). 1920.
- Seth Bunker Capp, Box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1914.
- \*Prof. Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.
- Frederick M. Carey, 44 Jacques St., Winter Hill, Mass. 1922.
- Miss Anna L. Carlin, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.



- \*Prof. Marjorie Carpenter, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. 1923.  
 Prof. Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1913.  
 James A. Carr, Central National Bank Building, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
 Prof. W. L. Carr, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. (73 S. Cedar Ave.). 1920.  
 \*Prof. Mitchell Carroll, The Octagon, Washington, D. C. 1894.  
 Prof. Adam Carruthers, 603 Huron St., Toronto, Can. 1909.  
 Clive H. Carruthers, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1923.  
 \*Prof. Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Dr. Earnest Cary, Boston, Mass. 1905.  
 William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.  
 Miss Emma Cauthorn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. (401 Price Ave.). 1916.  
 \*Prof. Julia H. Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Lawrence House). 1902.  
 Arnold B. Chace, 99 Power St., Providence, R. I. 1920.  
 Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Irving St.). 1920.  
 Miss Edith Chambers, 739 N. 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.  
 Prof. Angie Clara Chapin, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Shiner Chartier, Gloversville, N. Y. (67 Division St.). 1923.  
 \*Prof. Cleveland King Chase, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1911.  
 Prof. George Davis Chase, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.  
 \*Prof. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Shady Hill Square). 1899.  
 Prof. George M. Chase, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1924.  
 Dr. W. H. Chenery, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1916.  
 Arthur S. Chenoweth, Somers Point, N. J. 1921.  
 Miss Helen M. Chesnutt, 9719 Lamont Ave., Cleveland, O. 1920.  
 Dr. Edward C. Chickering, Jamaica High School, New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Prof. Gilbert Chinard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.  
 \*Rev. Joseph P. Christopher, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (Caldwell Hall) 1923.  
 Miss A. D. Choate, 3739 Windsor Pl., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
 Dr. Ethel L. Chubb, 4209 Chester Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. (358 Washington St.). 1922.  
 Dr. Edith Frances Clafin, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn. 1919.  
 \*Prof. Charles Upson Clark, 19 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1905.  
 Prof. Frank Lowry Clark, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1919.  
 Prof. Frederick William Clark, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manit., Can. 1920.  
 Prof. Herman A. Clark, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. (111 Maple Ave.). 1920.  
 Prof. Sereno Burton Clark, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1907.  
 \*Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, 805 Comstock Ave., Syracuse, N. Y. 1905.  
 Dr. Frank L. Cloud, 4609 W. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.  
 Mrs. Adelaide M. Coburn, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal. 1924.

- Miss Katharine M. Cochran, Ferry Hall, Lake Forest, Ill. 1914.  
Ernest A. Coffin, High School, Hartford, Conn. 1914.  
Dr. Harrison Cadwallader Coffin, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1920.  
Dr. George H. Cohen, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1914.  
Dr. James Wilfred Cohoon, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Can. 1914.  
Sister Mary Columkille Colbert, Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Tex. 1924.  
Prof. Guy Blandin Colburn, State College, Fresno, Cal. (Life member). 1911.  
John Kingsbury Colby, Milton Academy, Milton, Mass. 1922.  
Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.  
Dr. Erma Eloise Cole, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn. 1917.  
\*Prof. Helen Wieand Cole (Mrs. Samuel Valentine), Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1923.  
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (1027 N. Calvert St.). 1887.  
Pres. William W. Comfort, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1921.  
Miss Ruth Congdon, New Bedford, Mass. 1921.  
\*Willard Connely, 7 Craigie Circle, Cambridge, Mass. 1922.  
Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Del. 1921.  
Prof. Raymond Huntington Coon, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. (411 S. Fess St.). 1923.  
\*Prof. Lane Cooper, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1917.  
Prof. William A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1901.  
\*Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1912.  
Prof. Frank H. Cowles, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1916.  
Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.  
Prof. Edward G. Cox, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1923.  
Prof. John R. Crawford, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1912.  
Mrs. F. G. Cressey, Denison University, Granville, O. 1922.  
Prof. Edmund D. Cressman, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. (2076 S. St. Paul St.). 1914.  
Prof. Albert R. Crittenden, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (220 Twelfth St.). 1920.  
William Day Crockett, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (226 S. Atherton St.). 1915.  
Prof. W. H. Crogman, 105 S. 34th St., W. Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.  
\*Prof. H. L. Crosby, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.  
Prof. B. F. Cummings, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 1924.  
Miss Nellie Cunningham, 5712 Cabanne St., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
\*Miss Jean V. N. Da Costa, 1529 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1921.  
Prof. John N. Daland, Milton College, Milton, Wis. 1920.  
Prof. George I. Dale, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
\*Prof. Ernest A. Dale, University College, Toronto, Can. 1922.  
Prof. Alfred Mitchell Dame, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1911.



- Leslie Dana, 1 Brentmoor Park, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Dr. Fritz Sage Darrow, 218 East Ave., Rochester, N. Y. 1921.
- \*Prof. Irville F. Davidson, St. Stephens College, Annandale, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. Edmund Wayne Davis, Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn. 1921.
- Prof. M. E. Davis, Howard Payne College, Brownwood, Tex. 1920.
- Prof. Martelle Elliot Davis (Mrs.), Ohio Northern University, Ada, O. (118 W. Montford Ave.). 1918.
- Milton C. Davis, Miller Place, Long Island, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. William Hersey Davis, Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky. 1922.
- Prof. Henry S. Dawson, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (364 West Ave.). 1922.
- \*Prof. Lindley Richard Dean, Denison University, Granville, O. 1912.
- Miss Mildred Dean, 2404 Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D. C. 1920.
- \*Prof. Sidney N. Deane, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1912.
- Prof. Frank M. Debatin, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Dr. Alice A. Deckman, Kensington High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (231 S. 41st St.). 1921.
- Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. Ernest Woodruff Delcamp, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.
- Prof. Robert E. Dengler, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (706 W. College Ave.). 1918.
- Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. (42 Fletcher St., Winchester). 1899.
- \*Dr. Holmes Van Mater Dennis 3d, 22 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. 1921.
- Dr. E. B. De Sauzé, Board of Education, Cleveland, O. 1920.
- Prof. Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2805 Parker St.). 1904.
- \*Prof. Henry B. Dewing, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. (8 College St.). 1909.
- \*Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can. 1907.
- Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1902.
- Prof. Thomas Wyatt Dickson, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1915.
- Miss Eva Dilks, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- \*Dr. George E. Dimock, Jr., 21 Phillips St., Andover, Mass. 1913.
- Miss Dorothy Dixon, 381 Massachusetts Ave., Lexington, Mass. 1922.
- Miss Ellen MacKenzie Dodson, Mills College, Cal. (Box 25). 1921.
- Prof. James C. Dolley, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1920.
- Miss Helen M. Donnelly, 5046 Vernon Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
- Alfred C. Dorjahn, 1211 Michigan Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. James Walker Downer, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. 1915.
- Miss Juanita M. Downes, Cheltenham High School, Elkins Park, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
- Dr. Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (10 West St.). 1914.
- \*Miss Mary M. Dunbar, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1128 Savannah Ave., Edgewood). 1923.

- Prof. Thomas S. Duncan, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
 Prof. James E. Dunlap, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1921.  
 \*Prof. Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.  
 Prof. Donald Blythe Durham, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1912.  
 \*Prof. Emily Helen Dutton, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1898.  
 Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. (329 Hawthorn Rd., Roland Park). 1892.  
 Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.  
 \*Prof. Franklin Edgerton, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne). 1909.  
 Mother M. Edith, Loretto College, Webster Groves, Mo. 1923.  
 Dr. George V. Edwards, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (1705 Montgomery Ave.). 1921.  
 \*John Bowen Edwards, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N. Y. 1923.  
 \*Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.  
 \*Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.  
 Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit St.). 1900.  
 \*Prof. G. W. Elderkin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.  
 Dr. Lulu G. Eldridge, Box 1093, Mobile, Ala. (Life member). 1920.  
 Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.  
 Willis A. Ellis, Lombard, Ill. 1921.  
 Prof. Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.  
 Mrs. Ellinor T. B. Endicott, 404 W. 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.  
 Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.  
 Miss Catherine A. Everett, 46 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1921.  
 Prof. John T. Ewing, Alma College, Alma, Mich. 1922.  
 Dr. F. X. J. Exler, St. Norbert's College, West Depere, Wis. 1924.  
 Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.  
 Prof. Henry Rushton Fairclough, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
 Prof. Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, San José, Cal. 1919.  
 William W. Farnam, 335 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.  
 Dean William Edmund Farrar, Mercer University, Macon, Ga. 1922.  
 Miss Elizabeth Faulkner, Faulkner School, 4746 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1920.  
 Prof. W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. Mervin G. Filler, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1905.  
 Frederick P. Fish, 84 State St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.  
 \*Prof. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (University Club). 1900.  
 Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.  
 Prof. Thomas FitzHugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.  
 \*Miss Hildegard J. Fitz-Maurice, 6369 McCallum St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.



- Prof. Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.  
 Prof. Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1629 Hinman Ave.). Life member. 1905.  
 Herbert P. Flower, High School, Reedley, Cal. (Box 324). 1921.  
 Dr. Francis H. Fobes, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. (Life member). 1908.  
 Maynard D. Follin, Box 118, Detroit, Mich. (Life member). 1922.  
 Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1907.  
 Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.  
 Dr. Emily Foulkrod, 1534 Harrison St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. Frank Hamilton Fowler, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. (823 E. Speedway). 1893.  
 Prof. Harold North Fowler, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (2033 Cornell Rd.). Life member. 1885.  
 \*Miss Susan Fowler, Brearley School, 60 E. 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 \*Prof. William Sherwood Fox, Western University, London, Ont., Can. 1911.  
 Prof. James Everett Frame, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*Prof. Tenney Frank, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1906.  
 \*Miss A. Mildred Franklin, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa. 1921.  
 Miss Ernestine P. Franklin, 800 N. Chestnut Drive, Williams Bridge, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. A. D. Fraser, 78 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass. 1923.  
 Dr. Walter H. Freeman, Worcester Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1908.  
 Norman Freudenberger, Southwest Missouri State Teachers College, Springfield, Mo. 1922.  
 †Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Princeton, N. J. 1914.  
 Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.  
 Mrs. Marion Possons Gaines, Box 87, Clovis, Cal. 1922.  
 \*Prof. John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1907.  
 Alexander B. Galt, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.  
 Russell M. Geer, 1655 Boulevard, W. Hartford, Conn. 1922.  
 \*Dr. Henry S. Gehman, South Philadelphia High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (5720 N. 6th St.). 1914.  
 Prof. John Lawrence Gerig, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Judge John Marshall Gest, 542 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. A. F. Geyser, Campion College, Prairie du Chien, Wis. 1920.  
 Miss Flora S. Gifford, 531 W. Ormsby Ave., Louisville, Ky.  
 Prin. Seth K. Gifford, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. 1891.  
 †Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.  
 Dr. Walter H. Gillespie, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1908.  
 Ginn & Company, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.  
 \*Prof. Meta Glass, 622 W. 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1916.  
 Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. (456 S. 2d St.). 1900.  
 † Died.  
 ‡ Died January 9, 1924.

- Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1901.  
 Harold H. Glenn, 4745 Leiper St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 \*J. W. Glynn, Jr., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1923.  
 \*Prof. A. E. Gobble, Albright College, Myerstown, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. Julius Goebel, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. Grace G. Goodrich, Ripon College, Ripon, Wis. 1921.  
 Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (18 E. Church St.). 1891.  
 \*Prof. Florence Alden Gragg, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (234 Crescent St.). 1906.  
 Malbone Watson Graham, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 448). 1923.  
 Prof. C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Walker St.). 1922.  
 Dr. Mary A. Grant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. (1300 Louisiana St.). 1921.  
 Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y. 1902.  
 Miss Claudine Gray, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1924.  
 Dr. Mason De Witt Gray, East High School, Rochester, N. Y. 1923.  
 Dr. William D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.  
 Miss T. Jennie Green, State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo. 1923.  
 Theodore Francis Green, 1138 Hospital Trust Building, Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1920.  
 Prof. William C. Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (44 Shepard St.). 1915.  
 Rev. H. A. Grelis, O. S. A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pa. 1923.  
 Prof. William Richard Grey, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1920.  
 Prof. Wren Jones Grinstead, Eastern Kentucky State Normal School, Richmond, Ky. 1924.  
 Prof. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.  
 Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.  
 \*William E. Gwatkin, 7C Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
 \*Prof. Roy Kenneth Hack, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1910.  
 \*Prof. George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.  
 \*Miss E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (640 Riverside Drive). 1917.  
 \*Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.  
 \*Prof. William Gardner Hale, Shippan Point, Stamford, Conn. 1882.  
 Prof. Joseph Boyd Haley, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1921.  
 \*Dr. Clayton Morris Hall, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (20 Franklin St.). 1922.  
 Chancellor-Emeritus Frederic A. Hall, 5846 Julian Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1896.  
 F. Russell Hamblin, 539 Whitham St., Fayetteville, Ark. 1922.  
 Prof. H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.  
 Jacob Hammer, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (369 W. 119th St.). 1924.



- Miss Alice B. Hammond, 130 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1921.
- John Calvin Hanna, Department of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill. 1896.
- Ralph W. Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
- William Albert Harbison, 1317 Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
- \*Prof. Caleb R. Harding, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. 1919.
- \*Dr. James Penrose Harland, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (Life member). 1921.
- †Dr. Lewis R. Harley, Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- \*Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (244 Lawrence St.). 1907.
- \*George McLean Harper, Jr., Princeton, N. J. 1921.
- Prof. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
- Dr. Raymond D. Harriman, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1916.
- \*Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
- Prof. W. A. Harris, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1895.
- Pres. Fairfax Harrison, Southern Railway, Washington, D. C. (Life member). 1914.
- Dr. Carl A. Harström, Harström School, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
- Maynard M. Hart, McKinley High School, St. Louis, Mo. 1909.
- Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.
- Prof. K. Louise Hartt, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. Floyd Clayton Harwood, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (475 Yale Station). 1919.
- Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, 146 W. Lanvale St., Baltimore, Md. 1905.
- \*Prof. Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1902.
- Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, 155 Willow St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
- Dr. H. M. Hays, Fenger High School, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Edwin Humphrey Hazen, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (373 Crown St.) 1923.
- Prof. Charles Baker Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1913.
- \*Prof. Edward Hoch Heffner, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
- \*Prof. William A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.
- Sister M. Helen, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minn. 1923.
- Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.
- Prof. Clarence Nevin Heller, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
- Prof. George Lincoln Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.
- \*Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (31 College Pl.). 1905.
- † Died.

- Miss Hilda Hiemenz, 3520 Magnolia Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
 Dr. Ernest L. Highbarger, 2301 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1923.  
 \*Director Bert Hodge Hill, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece  
 (Life member). 1911.  
 Miss Helen Fairbanks Hill, 10 Astor St., Lowell, Mass. 1921.  
 James M. Hill, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1920.  
 \*Prof. Robert H. Hiller, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. (128 E. Madison  
 Ave.). 1920.  
 Prof. Gertrude M. Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York,  
 N. Y. 1902.  
 Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New  
 York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. Arthur Winfred Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (206 W.  
 10th Ave.). 1896.  
 Prof. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.  
 Dean Horace A. Hoffman, Yorktown Heights, N. Y. 1893.  
 Prof. J. Emory Hollingsworth, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. (1258 Lane  
 St.). 1921.  
 Urban T. Holmes, Jr., 10 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris, France. 1923.  
 Benjamin Clark Holtzclaw, Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (202 College  
 Ave.). 1921.  
 Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.  
 Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Law-  
 rence St.). 1883.  
 Prof. Joseph Clark Hoppin, 310 Sears Bldg., Boston, Mass. (Life member).  
 1900.  
 \*Prof. Robert C. Horn, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1909.  
 †Dr. H. M. Houston, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. 1923.  
 Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.).  
 Life member. 1892.  
 Prof. Joseph Henry Howard, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. Dak.  
 (216 Pine St.). 1921.  
 Prof. George Howe, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.  
 \*Prof. Arthur W. Howes, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.  
 Prof. George Edwin Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life mem-  
 ber). 1896.  
 Clement L. Hrdlicka, 612 E. Park Ave., Champaign, Ill. 1924.  
 \*Prof. Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (268 Willow St.).  
 1911.  
 Prof. Merritt Y. Hughes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2610 Regent  
 St.). 1923.  
 Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University, Va. 1871.  
 Dr. Alice Cushman Hunter, Nebraska Wesleyan University, University Place,  
 Nebr. 1922.  
 ‡Prof. Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1907.  
 † Died.  
 ‡ Died April 10, 1924.



- Dr. George B. Hussey, Chilhowee St., Maryville, Tenn. 1887.  
Miss M. Agnes Hutchinson, Kensington High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (233 S. 41st St.). 1921.  
Prof. Mark E. Hutchinson, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. 1921.  
Prin. Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.  
\*Prof. Walter Woodburn Hyde, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1911.  
Dr. Leo V. Jacks, York, Nebr. 1923.  
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.  
Prof. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (25 Beck Hall). Life member. 1905.  
Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.  
Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.  
Vladimir Jelinek, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
Prof. Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.  
Thornton Jenkins, High School, Malden, Mass. 1922.  
Dr. Richard Jente, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
\*Prof. Allan Chester Johnson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.  
Dr. Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (408 Fairfax Ave.). 1911.  
Franklin Plotinus Johnson, Thomas M. Johnson Library, Osceola, Mo. 1922.  
\*Prof. Harriet Dale Johnson, Tennessee College, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 1920.  
William H. Johnson, 710 Franklin Ave., Columbus, O. 1895.  
Prof. Eva Johnston, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.  
Miss Mary Johnston, Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1924.  
Prof. Richard O. Jolliffe, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1920.  
\*Miss Adelaide Jones, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (5817 Rural St.). 1923.  
Prof. Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.  
Prof. Richard Foster Jones, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.  
Dr. Adolphe Jordà, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Cal. 1924.  
Prof. Clinton K. Judy, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Cal. 1915.  
Prof. Charles E. Kany, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (474 Wheeler Hall). 1923.  
Miss Rosalie Kaufmann, 5200-a Waterman Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. Dak. 1914.  
Miss Ruth M. Keller, 568 S. Champion Ave., Columbus, O. 1921.  
\*Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.  
\*Prof. Robert James Kellogg, Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee, Okla. (645 N. Park St.). 1912.  
\*Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1890.  
Prof. John B. Kelso, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1923.

- Dr. Mary Jackson Kennedy, 1977 E. 97th St., Cleveland, O. 1924.
- \*Prof. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). Life member. 1903.
- \*M. V. Kern, 10 Snell St., Amherst, Mass. 1922.
- J. A. Kerns, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1921.
- Prof. David Martin Key, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. 1917.
- \*Dr. Clinton Walker Keyes, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (404 W. 115th St.). 1914.
- Prof. Samuel Shipman Kingsbury, Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis. (613 Hartwell Ave.). 1923.
- Prof. William E. Kirk, Willamette University, Salem, Ore. (1450 State St.). 1920.
- Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.
- \*Prof. John C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
- Prof. Robert Christian Kissling, Southeast Missouri State Teachers College, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1920.
- Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Hilliard St.). 1884.
- Prof. James A. Kleist, John Carroll University, Cleveland, O. 1920.
- Prof. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.
- Prof. Fred A. Knapp, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1920.
- Hugo A. Koehler, 320 N. Union Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Prof. John R. Knipfing, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1922.
- \*Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., 741 Boulevard East, Weehawken, N. J. 1922.
- Franklin B. Krauss, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. Paul E. Kretzmann, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (3705 Texas Ave.). 1923.
- Dr. Oswald Robert Kuehne, Central High School, 3250 Locust St., W. Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (59 Santa Clara Ave., Oakland). 1923.
- Pres. M. G. Kyle, Xenia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. (6834 Washington Ave.). 1923.
- Prof. Raymond Henry Lacey, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. (1205 W. College Ave.). 1915.
- \*Prof. Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
- Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (130 Prospect Ave.). Life member. 1890.
- Dr. George A. Land, Merchantville, N. J. 1914.
- Henri Langlard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (634 Hobart St., Oakland). 1924.
- \*Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
- Lewis H. Lapham, 17 Battery Pl., New York, N. Y. 1880.
- Prof. Henry A. Lappin, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y. (628 Delavan Ave.). 1922.



- \*Prof. Helen Hull Law, Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C. 1920.  
Dr. Robert J. Law, Schuylkill Seminary, Reading, Pa. 1922.  
Miss Lillian B. Lawler, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (14 W. Court Ave.). 1921.  
Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.  
\*Prof. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (889 St. Nicholas Ave.). 1895.  
Prof. David Russell Lee, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. (505 Main Ave., W.). 1907.  
Miss Mary S. Lee, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
Miss Sylvia Lee, The Ludlow, Copley Square, Boston, Mass. 1921.  
Dr. Earnest Linwood Lehman, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1919.  
Harry Joshua Leon, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1922.  
Dean Winfred G. Leutner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.  
Prof. Mark Harvey Liddell, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. (224 Waldron St.). 1923.  
Prof. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2233 Eunice St.). 1903.  
Prof. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1909.  
Dr. Henry Wheatland Litchfield, Pembroke, Mass. 1912.  
Prof. Charles Edgar Little, Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.  
\*Prof. Dean P. Lockwood, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1909.  
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.  
Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Nahant, Mass. (Life member). 1921.  
\*Prof. John Oscar Lofberg, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont., Can. 1919.  
Dr. John W. Logan, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1923.  
Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Life member). 1900.  
Prof. Christopher Longest, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1913.  
\*Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.  
Prof. Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1910.  
Miss D. Aileen Lougee, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N. Y. 1923.  
Elford Floyd Lounsbury, Tilton Seminary, Tilton, N. H. 1920.  
Dr. D. O. S. Lowell, South Hanson, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. John L. Lowes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1916.  
Rev. William Ludwig, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. 1921.  
\*Dr. Katherine Lummis, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1920.  
Dr. F. B. Lund, 257 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. (Life member). 1921.  
Dr. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders (Mrs.), 2429 Green St., San Francisco, Cal. 1904.  
Miss Caroline Vinia Lynch, 217 Norfolk St., Dorchester Centre, Boston, Mass. 1914.  
Sister M. Henrietta McAllister, Sisters College, Brookland, D. C. 1923.  
Dr. Eugene Stock McCartney, University of Michigan Library, Room 6, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1920.

- Prof. Chester C. McCown, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 59). 1920.
- \*Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1890.
- \*Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.
- Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
- Prof. Janet M. Macdonald, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. (253 S. Forsythe St.). Life member. 1922.
- \*Prof. Mary B. McElwain, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (Gillett House). 1908.
- Dr. Charles W. Macfarlane, The Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Prof. Ida Kruse McFarlane, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. Donald McFayden, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
- Rev. Thomas J. McGourty, Catholic University, Brookland, D. C. 1923.
- Mrs. Isabella T. Machan, 145 Summit Ave., Decatur, Ill. 1921.
- Prof. J. Gresham Machen, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1923.
- Pres. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, 437 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1901.
- Prof. W. R. Mackenzie, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1922.
- Prof. Arthur P. McKinlay, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Cal. 1913.
- Miss Harriett E. McKistry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
- Miss Madge McLane, 567 W. 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, 277 S. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1906.
- Pres. George E. MacLean, Albemarle Rd., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.
- Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1912.
- Dr. Robert Cecil MacMahon, 78 W. 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. James A. McMillen, Librarian, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Prof. Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
- \*Dr. Anna Pearl MacVay, Wadleigh High School, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. Ashton Waugh McWhorter, 29 Aconda St., Knoxville, Tenn. 1909.
- Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.
- \*Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (101 Library Pl.). 1901.
- Prof. Joseph S. Magnuson, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1920.
- \*Prof. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. 1908.
- Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, 89 Hillcrest Rd., Belmont, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
- \*Dr. Clarence Augustus Mauning, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.
- \*Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.



- Prof. Frank Burr Marsh, University of Texas, Austin, Texas (808 W. 22d St.). 1923.
- Prof. Ernest Whitney Martin, Stanford University, Cal. (525 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto). 1923.
- Miss Ellen F. Mason, Rhode Island Ave., Newport, R. I. 1885.
- Dr. Maurice W. Mather, 41 Dana St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- Paul Mayo, 1220 First National Bank Building, Denver, Colo. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. Thomas Means, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. (267 Maine St.). 1921.
- Prof. Bruno Meinecke, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1921.
- Miss Anna Cole Mellick, Brearley School, 60 E. 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*Prof. Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls, Ia.. (1927 College St.). Life member. 1898.
- \*Benjamin Dean Meritt, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (67 Brookes Ave.). 1922.
- Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1883.
- Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (826 Oxford St.). 1886.
- Miss Ruth E. Messenger, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (853 St. Nicholas Ave.). 1920.
- \*Prof. William Stuart Messer, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1915.
- Eugene Meyer, Jr., 820 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.
- Dr. Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Prof. Charles Christopher Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. (216 E. Espanola St.). 1909.
- Herbert Edward Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. 1914.
- Prof. Alfred William Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1903.
- Dr. A. Bertha Miller, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1915.
- \*Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Frank Justus Miller, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. Theodore A. Miller, 113 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. Walter Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1900.
- Knower Mills, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn. 1919.
- Prof. B. W. Mitchell, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. (4326 Pine St.). 1921.
- Samuel L. Mohler, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1921.
- Mrs. A. O. Moore (Cecilia Baldwin McElroy), Highland Park, Ill. (Life member). 1914.
- \*Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). Life member. 1889.
- \*Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- Prof. J. Leverett Moore, American Express Co., Piazza di Spagna, Rome, Italy. 1887.

- Paul E. More, 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1896.
- Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Rd.). 1886.
- Nicholas Moseley, 1449 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1921.
- Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1898.
- \*Prof. Omer Hillman Mott, Belmont Abbey, Belmont, N. C. 1921.
- Prof. Roland J. Mulford, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (25 Wiggins St.). 1923.
- \*Prof. Clyde Murley, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Fisk Hall, 2). 1920.
- Paul Murphy, College of Idaho, Caldwell, Idaho (1815 Filmore St.). 1923.
- Prof. Augustus Taber Murray, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
- \*Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- \*Walter N. Myers, Sellersville, Pa. 1921.
- Miss Elizabeth Frances Nammack, 1 Dorian Ct., Jarvis Lane, Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1922.
- \*Prof. Royal C. Nemiah, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1919.
- Prof. K. P. R. Neville, Western University, London, Can. 1902.
- Prof. Charles B. Newcomer, 1083 27th St., Des Moines, Ia. (Life member). 1900.
- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
- Dr. Samuel Hart Newhall, Haverford School, Haverford, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. Eva May Newman, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. (Box 25). 1922.
- Dr. Edward Wilber Nichols, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S., Can. 1915.
- John B. Nicholson, 104 E. 29th St., New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Dean Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
- Miss E. Lucile Noble, High School, Upper Darby, Pa. 1924.
- \*Paul R. Norton, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.
- Prof. Jonas O. Notestein, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1919.
- Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 172). 1900.
- Prof. Irene Nye, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn. 1911.
- Prof. Caroline H. Ober, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
- \*Dr. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (144 Benefit St.). Life member. 1923.
- Dr. Margaret Brown O'Connor, 3702-a Page Ave., St. Louis, Mo. (Life member). 1916.
- \*Merle M. Odgers, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1922.
- Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 628 W. 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- \*Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1907.
- Raymond T. Ohl, 145 Cricket Ave., Ardmore, Pa. 1924.
- Prof. C. H. Oldfather, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1919.
- \*Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (804 W. Green St.). 1908.
- \*Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1907.
- \*Dr. John R. Oliver, Latrobe Apartments, Baltimore, Md. 1922.
- Prof. W. H. Oxtoby, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1914.



- Prof. Walter Hobart Palmer, Branford, Conn. 1914.  
 Henry Spackman Pancoast, Spring Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.  
 Pres. Marian Edwards Park, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1921.  
 Roscoe G. Parker, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2905 Dwight Way). 1924.  
 Prof. Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2800 Derby St.). 1903.  
 Prof. James M. Paton, care of Morgan, Harjes & Co., 14 Place Vendôme, Paris, France. 1887.  
 Thomas Patterson, 1712 Oliver Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Life member). 1921.  
 Dr. Adolph Frederick Pauli, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. (3 Elm St.). 1921.  
 Harry F. Payer, 538 East Ohio Gas Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.  
 \*Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1905.  
 Dr. Joseph Pearl, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. Arthur Stanley Pease, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1906.  
 Dr. William T. Peck, 48 Princeton Ave., Providence, R. I. 1920.  
 Prof. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.  
 Provost Joseph H. Penniman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1921.  
 Hon. George Wharton Pepper, Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. Charles W. Peppler, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. 1899.  
 Prof. Emma M. Perkins, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1892.  
 \*Prof. Ben Edwin Perry, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1920.  
 Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1882.  
 \*Prof. Walter Petersen, 618 E. Fern Ave., Redlands, Cal. 1913.  
 Prof. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2215 Marin Ave.). 1905.  
 \*Prof. Clyde Pharr, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn. 1912.  
 †Dr. Aristides E. Phoutrides, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1915.  
 \*Miss Elizabeth D. Pierce, Palisade Ave., Englewood, N. J. 1916.  
 Prof. Annie M. Pitman, 414 N. Henry St., Madison, Wis. 1921.  
 George A. Plimpton, 61 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1916.  
 Mrs. Mary B. Pollard, 24 Kingsbury Pl., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
 Prof. William Popper, R. F. D. 1, Box 67, Berkeley, Cal. 1915.  
 Alfred E. Porter, 674 Winthrop Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1921.  
 Prof. Chandler Rathfon Post, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.  
 Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.  
 \*Prof. L. Arnold Post, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. Hubert McNeill Poteat, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1911.  
 Prof. Franklin H. Potter, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.

† Died August 26, 1923.

- Henry Preble, 154 E. 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- \*Prof. William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Life member). 1895.
- \*Prof. Henry W. Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
- Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
- Dr. Helen Price, Hood College, Frederick, Md. 1921.
- \*Dr. Lester M. Prindle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. Eduard Prokosch, Byrn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1923.
- Dr. G. Payn Quackenbos, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Mrs. Eliza G. Radeke, 92 Prospect St., Providence, R. I. (Life member). 1921.
- \*Prof. Robert S. Radford, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va. 1900.
- Prof. Max Radin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2957 Buena Vista Way). 1921.
- \*Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Lake View Ave.). Life member. 1902.
- \*Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Cal. (143 N. Van Ness Ave.). 1905.
- Miss Ruth E. Razee, 137 Alden Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1921.
- Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
- Samuel Macon Reed, Brevard, N. C. 1922.
- Pres. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, Mills College, Cal. 1924.
- Rev. Graham Reynolds, Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (Box 4408; Brookland Station). 1923.
- Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.
- \*Prof. Alexander H. Rice, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- \*Miss Edith F. Rice, Germantown High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2415 College Ave.). 1895.
- Prof. Mary Lilius Richardson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Terrace). 1917.
- Prof. Ernest H. Riedel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1908.
- \*Dr. Ernst Riess, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St., New York). 1895.
- Joaquin Palomo Rincon, Ava. Uruguay 45, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. 1912.
- \*Miss Irene C. Ringwood, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (301 Mill St.). 1922.
- Alfred L. Ripley, Andover, Mass. (Life member). 1921.
- Miss Dorothy M. Robathan, Walnut Hill School, Natick, Mass. 1921.
- \*Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Dr. Frank Eggleston Robbins, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1912.
- Harley F. Roberts, Taft School, Watertown, Conn. 1921.



- Harold C. Roberts, 231 W. Tulpehocken St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
Prof. Archibald Thomas Robertson, Southern Bapt. Theol. Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1909.  
Prof. John Cunningham Robertson, West Springfield, N. H. 1909.  
Miss Ruth E. Robertson, Deputy, Ind. 1923.  
Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1922.  
\*Prof. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (Life member). 1905.  
Prof. Dwight Nelson Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1911.  
Fletcher Nichols Robinson, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1909.  
Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.  
Prof. Rodney Potter Robinson, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1920.  
Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Municipal University of Akron, Akron, O. 1896.  
Miss Dorothy M. Roehm, 3319 Hogarth Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1921.  
Miss Myra Rogers, Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1922.  
Dr. Robert Samuel Rogers, Madison, N. J. (Life member). 1921.  
Prof. John Carew Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.  
Dean Florence K. Root, College of Wooster, Wooster, O. 1919.  
Miss Mabel V. Root, Catskill, N. Y. 1920.  
Ruskin R. Rosborough, Box 834, De Land, Fla. 1920.  
S. L. Millard Rosenberg, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.  
Prof. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.  
Prof. M. Rostovtzeff, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1923.  
Prof. A. M. Rovelstad, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. (206 Ohio St.). 1921.  
Miss Adele M. Roth, College of the Pacific, San Jose, Cal. 1922.  
\*Prof. William T. Rowland, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1919.  
Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.  
\*William Sener Rusk, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1921.  
Miss Marie L. Russell, 640 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.  
Prof. P. W. Russell, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C. 1920.  
Thomas De Coursey Ruth, care of F. S. Ruth & Co., 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.  
Prof. H. Osborne Ryder, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1922.  
Prof. Frances E. Sabin, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1920.  
Prof. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (The Belmont, 86th St. and Broadway). 1875.  
\*Prof. Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (247 Lothrop St.). Life member. 1912.  
\*Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (521 Thompson St.). Life member. 1899.  
Prof. Frederick W. Sanford, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr. 1922.  
Henry B. Sargent, 247 Church St., New Haven, Conn. (Life member). 1921.  
\*Dr. Rachel Louisa Sargent, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. (906 W. Green St.). 1923.

- Lt. Col. Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Haverford, Pa. 1909.
- \*Prof. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (Life member). 1900.
- Prof. Kenneth J. Saunders, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. 1924.
- \*John Alexander Sawhill, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1921.
- Pres. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.
- \*Prof. John Nevin Schaeffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (4107 Pine St.). 1921.
- Prof. Hugo Karl Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (822 Men-docino Ave.). 1920.
- \*Alfred Cary Schlesinger, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1922.
- Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.
- Ellis Schnabel, North East High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O. 1912.
- Henry B. Schwartz, Dept. of Public Instruction, T. H., Box 2360, Honolulu, T. H. 1924.
- Prof. Robert Maxwell Scoon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
- \*Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.
- Prof. Harry Fletcher Scott, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1921.
- \*Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1958 Sheridan Rd.). 1898.
- \*Kenneth Scott, University Club, Madison, Wis. 1923.
- Oreon E. Scott, 5211 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.
- Prof. R. Walker Scott, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1921.
- \*Prof. Henry S. Scribner, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1045 Murray Hill Ave.). Life member. 1889.
- \*Miss Laura Seguire, West Philadelphia High School for Girls, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Dr. Lewis L. Sell, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (240 W. 122d St.). 1916.
- \*Prof. William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (315 Pike St.). Life member. 1910.
- Prof. Joachim Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1321 Bay View Pl.). 1900.
- Miss Mary E. Shaneman, Birdsboro, Berks Co., Pa. 1922.
- F. C. Shaw, Westport High School, Kansas City, Mo. (3711 Mercier St.). 1923.
- \*Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (Battle Road). Life member. 1906.
- Prof. Caroline Sheldon, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. 1922.
- Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (39 Kirkland St.). 1881.
- \*Dr. Henry V. Shelley, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. (126 Porter St.). 1919.
- C. Sidney Shepard, New Haven, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.
- Prof. William P. Shepard, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1922.



- Charles L. Sherman, 12 Francis St., Newport, R. I. 1921.  
\*Prof. L. R. Shero, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1921.  
Dr. Emily L. Shields, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Ter.). 1909.  
\*Prof. F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.  
Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (410 N. Butler St.). 1900.  
Prof. Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
\*Prof. E. G. Sihler, care of American Academy, Rome, Italy. 1876.  
Pres. Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.  
Miss Adelaide Douglas Simpson, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1919.  
Prof. S. B. Slack, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1920.  
†Prof. Moses Stephen Slaughter, 633 Francis St., Madison, Wis. (Life member). 1887.  
William Sloane, 689 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.  
Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. 1907.  
Miss Elizabeth F. Smiley, 519 E. Summitt St., Marshall, Mo. 1922.  
Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1715 Kendall Ave.). 1883.  
\*Charles H. Smith, Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass. 1919.  
Prof. Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. 1895.  
‡Daniel Du Pré Smith, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1922.  
Dr. Gertrude E. Smith, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.  
Prof. Hamilton J. Smith, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Hotel Carlton). 1924.  
Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.  
\*Prof. Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1910.  
Prof. Lillian S. Smith, Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. 1919.  
Miss Maria W. Smith, 6 Lantern Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.  
Dr. R. Morris Smith, Wittenberg Academy, Springfield, O. (280 W. Cecil St.). 1920.  
Prof. Reuben Valentine Smith, 409 Parkview Ave., Columbus, O. 1923.  
Dr. Stanley Barney Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1474 Belmont Ave.). 1921.  
William F. Smith, 20 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1922.  
Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Elmwood Ave.). Life member. 1886.  
Miss Catherine L. Snell, 234 Plymouth Pl., Merchantville, N. J. 1924.  
Prof. Thomas Henry Sonnedecker, Heidelberg University, Tiffin, O. 1919.  
\*John W. Spaeth, Jr., Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
Mrs. Augusta de Laguna Spaulding, 1435 K. St., N W., Washington, D. C. 1921.  
\*Floyd A. Spencer, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. (Box 148, Faculty Exchange). 1922.  
† Died December 29, 1923.  
‡ Died.

- Pres. W. G. Spencer, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 1921.  
 Miss Evelyn Spring, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1917.  
 Prof. Oscar Emil Staaf, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1917.  
 Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.  
 Miss Ida L. Stauf, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 292, Palo Alto). 1924.  
 \*John Barker Stearns, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (230 Nassau St.). 1922.  
 Prof. John Burroughs Stearns, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 1922.  
 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Illinois Woman's College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1907.  
 Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (101 24th Ave. S.). Life member. 1893.  
 \*Cornelius L. Steinberg, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
 †Prof. Charles P. Steinmetz, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.  
 Prof. Guido H. Stempel, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. (723 S. Park Ave.). 1921.  
 Theodore T. Stenberg, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1924.  
 Prof. Rufus T. Stephenson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1910.  
 Prof. James Sterenberg, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1910.  
 Prof. M. W. Sterling, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. (1129 Louisiana St.). 1923.  
 Prof. Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College, Yankton, S. Dak. 1909.  
 Rev. William M. Stinson, Boston College, Boston, Mass. (Chestnut Hill, 67). 1923.  
 Prof. Francis H. Stoddard, 22 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 Charles W. Stone, 488 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1921.  
 Prof. Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, Indiana Central College, Indianapolis, Ind. 1914.  
 \*Prof. S. E. Stout, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 1915.  
 Prof. Frederick Eugene Stratton, Fargo College, Fargo, N. Dak. 1919.  
 \*Dr. Robert P. Strickler, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1911.  
 \*Eugene H. Strittmatter, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (803 Hartley Hall). 1922.  
 Miss Mildred C. Struble, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1923.  
 Prof. Donald Clive Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.  
 \*Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.  
 Mrs. Anne B. B. Sturgis, 272 Oak St., Oberlin, O. 1920.  
 S. Warren Sturgis, Groton, Mass. 1921.  
 Albert Morey Sturtevant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. (924 La. St.). 1922.  
 \*Dr. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, 28 Myrtle Ave., Edgewater, N. J. 1901.  
 \*Dr. Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.  
 \*Prof. Rollin Harvelle Tanner, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (Life member). 1911.  
 † Died October, 1923.



Rt. Rev. John J. Tannrath, 4371 Lindell Boul., St. Louis, Mo. (Life member). 1923.

\*Prof. Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1910.

Miss Elizabeth Tappan, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1923.

Prof. John S. P. Tatlock, Stanford University, Cal. 1915.

\*Prof. Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (McMillan Hall). 1912.

Prof. Archer Taylor, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1920.

Gilbert H. Taylor, Whitestown, Ind. 1922.

Dr. John W. Taylor, 85 Bedford Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1919.

Prof. Lily Ross Taylor, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1912.

Prof. Susan D. Tew, Sophie Newcomb Memorial College, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1919.

\*Prof. Ida Carleton Thallon, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1915.

Miss M. Carey Thomas, The Deanery, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1921.

Prof. Clara Louise Thompson, Shorter College, Rome, Ga. 1920.

R. H. B. Thompson, St. Louis Country Day School, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.

Russell I. Thompson, Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport, Pa. 1922.

Dean David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.

Prof. George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.

Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. 1901.

\*Dr. John B. Titchener, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1923.

Prof. Otis Johnson Todd, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Can. 1923.

†Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.

Miss Lena B. Tomson, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1921.

Prof. Catherine Torrance, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Box 207, Faculty Exchange). 1920.

Miss Mary Luella Trowbridge, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1922.

Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.

Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, 211 Melville Ave., Palo Alto, Cal. 1916.

\*Prof. Berthold L. Ullman, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (Life member). 1910.

Mrs. Mary Pence Underhill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2731 Dwight Way). 1923.

\*Prof. Harry Brown Van Deventer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.

Prof. Justin Loomis Van Gundy, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill. 1920.

\*Prof. Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1909.

\*Prof. La Rue Van Hook, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1905.

Miss Susan E. Van Wert, Hunter High School, New York, N. Y. (316 W. 112th St.). 1914.

† Died November 24, 1923.

- Prof. Agnes Carr Vaughan, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1917.  
 Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. 1904.  
 J. Homer Wade, 3903 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.  
 \*Miss Emily L. Wadsworth, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1922.  
 \*Dr. Anthony Pelzer Wagener, Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1911.  
 Prof. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.  
 Miss Mary Violet Waite, Oak Hill Pl., Cayuga Heights, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.  
 Dr. John W. H. Walden, 7 Irving Terrace, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.  
 G. Byron Waldrop, Blair Academy, Blairstown, N. J. 1921.  
 Prof. Arthur Tappan Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 1895.  
 John Stephen Walsh, New Hampshire State College, Durham, N. H. 1922.  
 Prof. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.  
 Miss Anne R. Waney, Soldan High School, St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
 Prof. William D. Ward, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.  
 \*James R. Ware, 1169 Lansdowne Ave., Camden, N. J. (Life member). 1921.  
 Miss Florence Waterman, Winsor School, Boston, Mass. 1921.  
 Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. 1885.  
 Prof. John C. Watson, 5482½ University Ave., Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill. 1902.  
 Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.  
 Prof. Hermann J. Weber, Berkeley, Cal. (1811 La Loma Ave.). 1913.  
 \*Prof. Shirley H. Weber, 106 Broadmead, Princeton, N. J. 1914.  
 Dr. Helen L. Webster, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. 1890.  
 Prof. Raymond Weeks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.  
 Dr. Herbert T. Weiskotten, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. 1919.  
 Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1903.  
 Louis C. West, 706 Citizens Building, Cleveland, O. (Life member). 1921.  
 Prof. John R. Westbrook, Fulton, Mo. 1923.  
 Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.  
 Prof. Arthur Harold Weston, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. (520 John St.). 1915.  
 Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1906.  
 \*Prof. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (221 Roberts Rd.). 1899.  
 President-Emeritus Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2425 Ridge Rd.). 1879.  
 Benjamin Webb Wheeler, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1920.  
 \*Prof. George Meason Whicher, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Rd.). 1886.  
 Howell North White, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1921.  
 Prof. John B. White, Route 1, Orlando, Fla. 1920.



- John G. White, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1922.  
Prof. Raymond H. White, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1911.  
Dr. Philip B. Whitehead, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1920.  
Miss Mabel K. Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1906.  
Prof. Edward A. Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1906.  
Dr. Carol VanBuren Wight, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1923.  
Dr. Alfred Reynolds Wightman, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. (81 Front St.). 1920.  
\*Prof. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. (Life member). 1898.  
Prof. Eliza G. Wilkins, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1917.  
Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams, Cheshbrough Dwellings, Toledo, O. 1922.  
Charles Richard Williams, Benedict House, Princeton, N. J. 1887.  
Prof. Edward Thomas Williams, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1410 Scenic Ave.). 1919.  
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.  
Mrs. Arleigh Boyd Williamson, 431 W. 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1917.  
E. R. B. Willis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.  
Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md. 1906.  
Miss Lillian M. Wilson, 5464 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1922.  
Prof. Margaret B. Wilson, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1921.  
Dr. Pearl Cleveland Wilson, Miss Chandor's School, New York, N. Y. (65 Morningside Ave.). 1919.  
Prof. William Jerome Wilson, State Normal School, Cheney, Wash. 1918.  
Prof. Herbert Wing, Jr., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. (429 W. South St.). 1915.  
Charles J. Winter, Washington, Ia. 1922.  
Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Life member). 1906.  
Prof. Boyd Ashby Wise, Stephens City, Va. 1909.  
\*Miss Ruth Witherstine, Lake Bluff, Ill. 1922.  
H. Rey Wolf, Lower Merion High School, Ardmore, Pa. (16 School Lane). 1921.  
Prof. William Dudley Woodhead, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1920.  
\*Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. (808 Main St.). 1901.  
Prof. James Haughton Woods, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (16 Prescott Hall). 1923.  
\*Prof. F. Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1910.  
Dr. Horace Wetherill Wright, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1918.  
John Max Wulfing, 3448 Longfellow Boul., St. Louis, Mo. 1923.  
Dr. William Frank Wyatt, 45 Sawyer Ave., Tufts College, 57, Mass. 1915.  
\*Prof. Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.  
Mrs. Helen D. Yetter, Perrenoud Apartments, Denver, Colo. (Life member). 1921.

Arthur Milton Young, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.  
1923.

\*Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 W. 88th  
St.). 1890.

Dr. Charles Hamline Zimmerman, 155 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1920.

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Members in the above list,	976
Members not in the above list (from the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast),	<u>2</u>
Total,	978



# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

### AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

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#### ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

#### ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.
4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

#### ARTICLE III.—MEETINGS

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

#### ARTICLE IV.—MEMBERS

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.
2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.
3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

<sup>1</sup> As amended December 28, 1907.

ARTICLE V.—SUNDRIES

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.



## COMMITTEES AND BUSINESS MATTERS

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1. **NOMINATING COMMITTEE**, established July 8, 1903 (xxxiv, xix, xlv). One member retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. The present membership of the Committee is as follows:—

Professor Frank G. Moore.  
Professor Frank Frost Abbott.  
Professor Clifford H. Moore.  
Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel.  
Professor Francis G. Allinson.

2. **PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST**. The present terms of affiliation between this Association and the American Philological Association are defined in the Articles of Agreement adopted by the two Associations in December, 1916 (xlvii, xi f.), and November, 1917 (xlviii, xiv), respectively.

3. **SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER**. In December, 1923, the Association voted that the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer be fixed at \$750, to include any outlay for clerical help; and that the expenses of the Secretary in attending the annual meeting be paid by the Association (liv, xiii).

4. **PUBLICATION**. By vote of the Association (December, 1919), the publication of the annual volume was put in charge of the Secretary (l, xi).

5. **LIFE MEMBERSHIPS**. On December 31, 1914, it was voted by the Association that the Treasurer be instructed to fund all sums received for life memberships (xlv, xiv).

6. By vote of the Association (December 28, 1918), no member is entitled to receive the annual volume unless he has paid the dues for the year for which the volume is issued (xlix, vii).

7. The Association elects annually a delegate to the Council of the American Classical League (xlix, viii). The delegate for 1924 is Professor H. W. Prescott.

8. **AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES**. On December 31, 1919, the Association declared its adherence to the American Council of Learned Societies, which represents North America as a member of the Union Académique Internationale (l, ix-x). The delegates of the Association to the Council are Professors W. K. Prentice and E. K. Rand. The following scholarly projects of special interest to the Association have been approved by the Council for consideration by the Union: a corpus of ancient vases; a new Medieval Latin dictionary; a catalogue of alchemical manuscripts (Greek, Latin, and

Oriental); continuation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; a repertory of collections and catalogues of Greek manuscripts; a collection of Greek Christian inscriptions; adoption of a uniform method of publishing Greek and Latin papyri; adoption of an international auxiliary language. Of these projects the first three have been adopted by the Union. The Council also has committees on Medieval Latin studies, on a proposed dictionary of national biography, and on collaboration with the National Research Council. It has under consideration a survey of learned societies and a committee on the history of science. The organization and constitution of the Council, the statutes of the Union, the proceedings of the Council and its Executive Committee, and brief accounts of the meetings of the Union are found in the *Bulletin* of the Council, published by the Institute of International Education, 419 West 117th St., New York City (No. I, Oct., 1920; II, Dec., 1922). The officers of the Council are: Chairman, Professor C. H. Haskins; Vice-Chairman, Professor W. K. Prentice; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor John Erskine. The Executive Committee: the officers and Professors A. T. Clay and Thos. W. Page. Committee on Ways and Means: Professors Hiram Bingham, J. P. Chamberlain, J. F. Jameson, J. D. Prince, J. E. Woodbridge. All communications should be addressed to Professor John Erskine, *Secretary*, Columbia University, New York City.

9. ENDOWMENT. The Endowment Committee, established December 31, 1919 (L, xi), is constituted as follows:—

Fairfax Harrison, <i>Chairman</i> .	Principal Maurice Hutton.
G. A. Plimpton, <i>Treasurer</i> .	Professor John M. Manly.
Professor Clarence P. Bill, <i>Secretary</i> .	Professor Clifford H. Moore.
†Professor Charles E. Bennett.	Professor Frank G. Moore.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks.	Dr. Paul Elmer More.
‡Professor B. L. Gildersleeve.	Professor John C. Rolfe.
Professor G. L. Hendrickson.	Professor Paul Shorey.
Professor Herbert Weir Smyth.	

The principal of the Endowment Fund now (July 1, 1924) amounts to \$11,537.92. The regulations governing its use and management, as adopted by the Association, are found in Vol. LIII, p. xii.

10. Abstracts published in the *Proceedings* are limited by vote of the Association (December 31, 1919) to 300 words in length (L, xi).

11. COMMITTEE ON AN INTERNATIONAL AUXILIARY LANGUAGE, appointed December 30, 1920 (LI, xii):—

Professor W. A. Oldfather.	Professor Dean P. Lockwood.
Professor Carl D. Buck.	Professor Clarence W. Mendell.
Professor Roland G. Kent.	Professor H. P. Nutting.
Professor L. J. Paetow.	

12. COMMITTEE ON MEDIEVAL LATIN, appointed December 29, 1922 (LIII, xiv):—

† Died May 2, 1921. ‡ Died January 9, 1924.



Professor B. L. Ullman.  
Professor C. H. Beeson.  
Professor Cornelia C. Coulter.  
Professor H. R. Fairclough.

Professor K. P. Harrington.  
Professor G. D. Kellogg.  
Professor D. P. Lockwood.  
Professor E. T. Sage.

13. COMMITTEE ON LIBRARY RESOURCES, appointed December 29, 1923  
(LIV, xiv):—

Professor H. B. Van Hoesen.  
Professor C. H. Beeson.  
Professor A. M. Harmon.

Professor D. P. Lockwood.  
Professor E. S. McCartney.  
Professor C. H. Moore.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

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The annually published *Transactions* of the American Philological Association give the full text of such papers as the Executive Committee decides to publish.

The annually published *Proceedings* contain the programme and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, a record of the publications of members of the Association, lists of its officers and members, brief notes of its most important committees and business matters, and information regarding its publications.

The *Transactions* and *Proceedings* are issued in a single volume. The *Transactions* are not published separately; a few separate copies of the *Proceedings* are available each year.

For the contents of the *Transactions*, Volumes I-XXXIV inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.; for XXXV-XLVII, Volume XLVII, pp. lxxxviii ff. The contents of Volumes XLVIII-LIII are as follows:

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### 1917—Volume XLVIII

- Stuart, D. R.: Petrarch's indebtedness to the *libellus* of Catullus.  
Moore, C. H.: The decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire.  
Hewitt, J. W.: Some aspects of the treatment of ingratitude in Greek and English literature.  
Sturtevant, E. H.: *Tenuis* and *media*.  
Bradley, C. B.: The history of the Sukhōthai letters.  
Carnoy, A. J.: The predicating sentence.  
Bassett, S. E.: The hephthemimeral caesura in Greek hexameter poetry.  
Ullman, B. L.: Horace on the nature of satire.  
Lanman, C. R.: Hindu ascetics and their powers.  
Proceedings of the forty-ninth annual meeting, Philadelphia, Pa., 1917.  
Proceedings of the nineteenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1917.
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### 1918—Volume XLIX

- Pease, A. S.: On the authenticity of the *Hercules Oetaeus*.  
Flickinger, R. C.: The accusative of exclamation: Lucretius to Ovid.  
Bassett, S. E.: The suitors of Penelope.  
Bourne, Ella: Augustus as a letter-writer.  
Tavener, Eugene: The Roman farmer and the moon.  
Steele, R. B.: The similes in Latin epic poetry.  
Carnoy, A. J.: The real nature of dissimulation.



- Lockwood, D. P.: Two thousand years of Latin translation from the Greek.  
 Brewster, E. H.: The synthesis of the Romans.  
 Hadzsits, G. D.: Lucretius as a student of Roman religion.  
 Proceedings of the fiftieth annual meeting, New York, N. Y., 1918.  
 Proceedings of the twentieth annual meeting of the Philological Association of  
 the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1918.

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**1919—Volume L (Semi-Centennial)**

- Moore, F. G.: A history of the American Philological Association.  
 Shorey, Paul: Fifty years of classical studies in America.  
 Bloomfield, Maurice: Fifty years of comparative philology in America.  
 Elmore, Jefferson: The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.  
 Kent, R. G.: The Latin language in the fourth century.  
 Merrill, E. T.: The Church in the fourth century.  
 Moore, C. H.: The pagan reaction in the late fourth century.  
 Rolfe, J. C.: Claudian.  
 Pease, A. S.: The attitude of Jerome toward pagan literature.  
 Sage, E. T.: The publication of Martial's poems.  
 Calhoun, G. M.: Oral and written pleading in Athenian courts.  
 Proceedings of the fifty-first annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1919.  
 Proceedings of the twenty-first annual meeting of the Philological Association of  
 the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1919.  
 Indices to Volumes XLI-L.

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**1920—Volume LI**

- Prentice, W. R.: Thermopylae and Artemisium.  
 Kent, R. G.: The alleged conflict of the accents in Latin verse.  
 Rolfe, J. C.: *Prorsus*.  
 Manning, C. A.: The Tauric Maiden and allied cults.  
 Schmidt, Nathaniel: Bellerophon's tablet and the Homeric question in the light  
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 Rand, E. K.: Prudentius and Christian humanism.  
 Taylor, J. W.: Gemistus Pletho as a moral philosopher.  
 McCartney, E. S.: Spontaneous generation and kindred notions in antiquity.  
 Taylor, L. R.: The worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime.  
 Van Hook, La Rue: The exposure of infants at Athens.  
 Radford, R. S.: The juvenile works of Ovid and the spondaic period of his  
 metrical art.  
 Tanner, R. H.: The 'Ἀρχιλοχοί of Cratinus and Callias ὁ λακκόπλουτος.  
 Proceedings of the fifty-second annual meeting, Baltimore, Md., 1920.  
 Proceedings of the twenty-second annual meeting of the Philological Association  
 of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1920.

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**1921—Volume LII**

- Sturtevant, E. H.: The character of the Latin accent.  
 Petersen, Walter: The speaker and the hearer.

- Oldfather, W. A.: Richard Bentley's critical notes on Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus*.
- Mendell, C. W.: Literary reminiscences in the *Agricola*.
- Allinson, F. G.: On a fragment of comedy attributed to Menander.
- Boak, A. E. R.: Two contracts for division of property from Graeco-Roman Egypt.
- Ballou, S. H.: The carrière of the higher Roman officials in Egypt in the second century.
- Bonner, Campbell: A papyrus describing magical powers.
- Miller, Walter: Theracles, potter, in the light of the Greek drama.
- Bassett, S. E.: The function of the Homeric simile.
- Radford, R. S.: The *Priapea* and the Vergilian Appendix.
- Proceedings of the fifty-third annual meeting, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1921.
- Proceedings of the twenty-third annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1921.

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1922—Volume LIII

- Fairclough, H. R.: The poems of the Appendix Vergiliana.
- Sturtevant, E. H.: Syllabification and syllable quantity in Greek and Latin.
- Bassett, S. E.: The three threads of the plot of the *Iliad*.
- Kent, R. G.: The educated Roman and his accent.
- Bellinger, A. R.: Catullus and the *Ciris*.
- Lanman, C. R.: The Sanskrit acrists: their classification and history.
- Hale, W. G.: Stampini and Pascal on the Catullus manuscripts.
- Dewing, H. B.: A dialysis of the fifth century A.D. in the Princeton Collection of Papyri.
- Winter, J. G.: Some literary papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.
- Bonner, Campbell: A papyrus of Dioscurides in the University of Michigan Collection.
- Miller, C. W. E.: The pronunciation of Greek and Latin prose, or, Ictus, accent, and quantity in Greek and Latin prose and poetry.
- Proceedings of the fifty-fourth annual meeting, New Haven, Conn., 1922.
- Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, Cal., 1922.

The *Proceedings* of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary until they are out of print.

Fifty reprints of articles in the *Transactions*, and twenty reprints of abstracts in the *Proceedings*, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies are furnished at cost.

The "Transactions for" any given year are not always published in that year. To avoid mistakes in ordering back volumes, please state—not the year of publication, but rather—the year for which the *Transactions* are desired, adding also the volume-number, according to the following table:—



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"	"	1876	"	VII	"	"	1902	"	xxxiii
"	"	1877	"	VIII	"	"	1903	"	xxxiv
"	"	1878	"	IX	"	"	1904	"	xxxv
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Volumes I-xxvi can be secured in paper binding only; Volumes xxviii-xxxvii, and xxxix-xlIII, in red cloth binding only; Volumes xxvii, xxxviii, and xlIV-LV, in either paper or red cloth. The red cloth binding is one which the Association has used for twenty-five years for the convenience of its members.

The price of these volumes, bound in paper, is \$2.00 apiece, except Volumes xv, xx, xxiii, xxxii, xxxvi, xl, xli, and xlIII-xlIX, for which \$2.50 is charged, and Volumes L-LIV, the price of which is \$3.00. Where the cloth binding is ordered, fifty cents per volume must be added to the above prices. Volumes v, vi, and vii are out of print. A charge of fifty cents per copy is made for reprints of the indices to Volumes xxxi-xl; and seventy-five cents for the indices to Volumes xli-L.

Odd volumes will be bound by the Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa., at a price to be quoted upon application.

Orders for the publications of the Association should be sent to the Secretary, Professor Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. For prices, see above.

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